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Editorial Article Berates Turkey Border Closing

AU2808131389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Aug 89 p 2

[Editorial Article: "According to Well-Known Scenario"]

[Text] At first Turkey unilaterally declared that it was closing its border for Bulgarian citizens who wanted to travel to Turkey. Shortly afterward this formulation was amended in order to strengthen the antihuman character of the decision, and it was announced that visas would again be required. In the past this requirement had been changed only in order to herald the "touching" care of "Mother Turkey" for its children. This mother repeatedly proved to be a stepmother and often slandered Bulgaria. Indeed, no words can change the essential feature of the decision: a lack of respect for the Helsinki and Vienna agreements.

A myth that has been tenaciously asserted by all means in the consciousness of the world public collapsed. The delusions related to the real reasons behind the mass travel, such as aggressive pan-Turkism and the imperial ambitions of its adherents among Turkey's present leaders, began to disintegrate. It became clear that thousands of our compatriots are merely pawns and hostages in the dishonest political game repeatedly staged by managers in our southern neighbor. Political observers in many countries throughout the world have begun to notice this.

The reasons for such a conclusion lay in the constant kindling of emigration psychosis among the descendants of the Islamized Bulgarians throughout the period from Bulgaria's liberation from the Turkish yoke until our day. Also in 1950-51 many of our compatriots were lured by generous promises and patriotic spells, and when the number of those who headed for Turkey became too large and began to threaten the strategic goals of their protectors, the barrier at the border was lowered and thousands of them remained in limbo. The pan-Turks again demonstrated their unwillingness to achieve a lasting solution in 1978 and 1982, when it was declared from the highest level that the emigration issue had been resolved and that the emigration agreement that was in force until then had been phased out. The attempts to disturb the calm in our country, create disunity among our people, and prevent our development, continued.

This scenario is too well-known and compromised, and it is not appropriate for the present stage, when the peoples and countries are striving for the factors that unite them rather than those that drive them apart. Political hypocrisy leads backward and not forward. Perhaps it relies on the human ability to forget and the credulity of the nations that can accept any lie repeated 100 times as the truth. Indeed, the hypocrites are cheating themselves first of all rather than the others.

Drugs Intercepted at Kapitan Andreevo Checkpoint

AU2908125789 Sofia BTA in English 1227 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 29 (BTA)—Last night an attempt at smuggling 5 kg heroin to Western Europe was prevented at the Kapitan Andreevo checkpoint. The narcotic was hidden in the luggage compartment of a Mercedes bus with Turkish registration carrying Turkish citizens.

The respective authorities will investigate the matter.

Writer Denies Signing Turkish Exodus Declaration

AU2908132089 Sofia LITERATUREN FRONT in Bulgarian No 34, 24 Aug 89 p 6

[Dimo Bolyarov letter: "This Is Not My Signature, This Is Not My Truth"]

[Excerpt] Recently a declaration of some Sofia intellectuals, related to the mass departure to Turkey of Bulgarian citizens, was read over Radio Free Europe. I was surprised to hear my name among the names of those who signed the declaration. I must publicly state that I have never signed such a document, and in this letter of mine I shall explain why in principle I could never do so.

I take this opportunity as a Bulgarian journalist and literary figure to express my opinion about "colleagues" such as Vladimir Kostov, who read such a heart-breaking commentary in connection with the declaration. In the past Kostov, his wages paid by our hard-earned money, regularly informed us with a pointedly nasal intonation that "today at the Elysee Palace the president received...." and so forth. Somehow naturally, after his official reports, he began to broadcast on Radio Free Europe, using a totally different intonation. I am disgusted by such hypocrisy and I protest against the mentioning of my name by Kostov! I also identified the voice of Dimitur Inkyov—Velko Verin—who like me used to live in Khaskovo. He used to write weak, superideological plays, such as the "epic drama" about a real people's hero from our region. The hero is a hero, but Inkyov's "work" was too indigent as a theater piece. Nevertheless, since the ill-fated Shakespeare had a godfather in a secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party okrug committee—the work was staged. The people who attended were forcefully brought from the villages and the local garrison in order to fill up the Khaskovo theater. In that case the manager Georgi Nalbantov and the stage director Blagoy Stratev had difficulties, because they could accept neither the spectacle nor the godfather's behavior.... Precisely because of my abundant personal impressions of Kostov and Inkyov I seldom listen to Radio Free Europe, and whenever I do it is always to my great displeasure. Those two can say nothing to me. However, in order to avoid being accused of political "boot-licking" let me say that I often follow

with great interest that radio station's Russian program, especially the commentaries of Kartashov, Rahr, and Fedoseyeva.

Let us return to the declaration. Without being myself a member of any informal organizations or clubs I support the idea of these social groups' existence. One way or another, pluralism is penetrating the socialist world. Furthermore, some of my close friends, in whose social and political thinking and good intentions I have no doubt, are members of such groups. However, I have never signed anything specifically related to such an alarming problem. Therefore I disassociate myself from the declaration read over Radio Free Europe. [passage omitted]

Dzhurov Speech at Military Graduation Ceremony

AU2908111589 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Aug 89 pp 1, 3

["Speech by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party and minister of national defense," at the 26 August Botevgrad graduation ceremony of military schools' graduates]

[Excerpts] Comrade officers, graduates of the Georgi Sava Rakovski Military Academy and the military academies in the USSR,

Comrade young officers and petty officers, graduates of the military schools,

Comrade generals, admirals, and officers,

Esteemed guests and Botevgrad citizens,

The festive promotion of each new class of the military schools and the awarding of diplomas to the graduates of the military academies of our country and the USSR is a wonderful tradition of long-lasting and festive excitement, full of deep essence. It is an expression of the great attention devoted by the Bulgarian Communist Party to the military cadres, the care for their training and education, and our people's boundless respect for their armed defenders. This is a holy ritual of continuity, during which you take an oath to your kin and motherland to selflessly and loyally serve Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

The renewal of socialism in our country is organically connected with the new political thinking and the new approach to international relations.

Thanks to the efforts of the USSR, the socialist countries, and the broad international public, as well as to the realism shown by state and political figures in the West, detente has been felt in our world. The socialist countries established the strengthening of peace, the liberation of mankind from the military threat, and the development of broad and mutually beneficial international cooperation as the supreme goals of their foreign policy.

Today the implementation of the idea of civilized international relations is not an illusion, but an attainable reality. However, this idea requires an exceptionally strenuous struggle and unrelenting vigilance on the part of the peace-loving forces and, first of all, on the part of the socialist community—the main bulwark of peace. This is because in the leading circles in the United States and the other NATO countries there still are figures who continue to think along the past lines and strive toward military superiority and social revenge.

NATO's continuance of its policy of working from a position of strength and adherance to the strategy of nuclear containment also evokes concern. The level of military confrontation still remains high and dangerous.

Our country is a consistent and ardent adherent to disarmament, understanding, and cooperation among nations. It readily accepted the Vienna agreements because it is convinced that they are in line with our restructuring efforts. With its policy and constructive initiatives, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is making a significant contribution to turning the Balkans into a region of peace, a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, and a vivid example of developing good-neighborly relations.

We think that despite the differences inherited from the past on certain issues, dominant common interests—prevention of military conflicts, the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, and the development of mutually beneficial economic cooperation—must have priority in relations among the Balkan countries.

The attempts of certain foreign circles at instigation and rude interference in our internal affairs are in sharp contrast with our peace-loving policy.

In recent months, the Republic of Turkey has been conducting an unprecedented anti-Bulgarian propaganda campaign under the guise of an ostensible "concern" for the Bulgarian citizens, descendants of the Islamized Bulgarians. Threats and absurd accusations and claims are being made against our country. The statements of political figures, led by Turgut Ozal, and the inciteful broadcasts and articles suggested to Bulgarian citizens, descendants of the Islamized Bulgarians, that they are "welcome," and that a near- paradisiacal life awaits them.

Supporting Turkey, NATO allowed itself to make an unfounded and hasty declaration, which does not correspond with the historical reality and lacks any judicial foundation.

The anti-Bulgarian propaganda, the activity of extremist groups and individuals, the barbarous fanaticism, and the everyday life conservatism prompted many Bulgarian citizens, descendants of the Islamized Bulgarians, to make fateful decisions. The end of this stubbornly implanted illusion came with the unilateral decision of the Turkish Government to stop the admittance of

Bulgarian citizens, descendants of the Islamized Bulgarians, who wish to visit Turkey.

We have always adhered and will continue to adhere to the development of good-neighborly relations. However, this does not mean that we shall allow anybody to suggest his understandings to, and implant unhealthy moods amongst, insufficiently informed people, thus undermining the unity of the Bulgarian people.

The soldiers and commanders of the Bulgarian People's Army firmly declare that nobody can deflect them from the road of socialist renewal and defense of our socialist motherland, along which they are marching. [passage omitted]

Danchev Receives Romanian Deputy Premier Radu

AU2808195689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] On 28 August Petko Danchev, candidate member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Ion Radu, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee. They discussed matters related to bilateral economic relations.

Economic Protocol Signed

AU2908182189 Sofia BTA in English 1539 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 29 (BTA)—Mutual desire for dynamic development of the economic relations, specialization and cooperation, of the trade exchange, was expressed at the 18th Session of the Joint Governmental Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation Between Bulgaria and Romania, which ended today. It was reported that after the 17th Session of the commission a number of economic documents have been signed. A general scheme for specialization and cooperation in transport machine building is already being fulfilled, as well as agreements for specialization in the sphere of hydraulics and pneumatics, for specialization and mutual deliveries of electronic elements and textile machines.

Special attention was paid to the future intensification of the integration processes in chemical industry, the production of hoist and hauling capacities, electronics. Broadening of the cooperation is envisaged in the sphere of power supply, metallurgy, agriculture, food, light timber and timber processing industries, as well as in the techno-scientific spheres.

Concrete measures have been undertaken in connection with the fulfillment of the barter obligations, mostly in the sphere of non-realized deliveries.

The session decided that along with the coordination of the national economy plans for the next five-year period dynamic development should be secured to economic ties, as well as an increase and variegation of the goods for mutual deliveries, deepening of specialization and cooperation in the production, as well as improvement of the forms of cooperation.

An agreement was reached for the intensification of the direct contacts between the companies and the enterprises of the two countries.

The protocol was signed by Mr. Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, and Mr. Ion Radu, deputy first minister of Romania's government.

During the visit the leader of the Romanian delegation had a meeting with Mr. Petko Danchev, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria.

BNB Board Introduces New Banking System

AU2808200189 Sofia BTA in English 1916 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia August 28 (BTA)—At an extended session the Managing Board of the Bulgarian National Bank (B.N.B.) discussed a new structure of banking based on new principles.

It was decided to set up 32 commercial banks—joint-stock companies without subdivisions—and 27 commercial banks—joint-stock companies with subdivisions. Thus on the basis of the territorial principle the commercial banks will work in direct partnership with the companies.

In the next few months the decision will enable the bigger branches of the B.N.B. to radically change their activity depending on how much ready they are to do it and they will grow into joint-stock commercial banks servicing the interested companies, the B.N.B and other banks. The new banks and the commercial banks already established can open branches in other places for the purpose of providing better services to the companies and depending on their own interests. On the other hand, it is possible for the citizens to participate in the management of banking, because they now are entitled to holding workers' shares in the companies and their subdivisions.

Health Official on Medical Personnel Shortage

AU2808202089 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 25 Aug 89 pp 1,2

[Interview with Prof Evgeni Apostolov, first deputy minister of public health and social welfare, by Asen Boyadzhiev: "Difficulties Shall Be Overcome"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] As has happened in all sectors of our economic life, serious problems have emerged in connection with the mass exodus of Bulgarian Muslims to the

Republic of Turkey. This creates difficulties for the national health care system which require efficient and long-term solutions. We interviewed Prof Evgeni Apostolov, deputy minister of public health and social welfare, about this problem.

[Boyadzhiev] Prof Apostolov, it is a well-known fact that a large number of Bulgarian Muslims have left their native areas, which are now affected by a considerable shortage of medical personnel. How do you cope with this problem?

[Apostolov] The information system which exists supplies us with daily data on the fluctuation of the number of cadres in those areas. The personnel problems are the most acute in Razgrad, Khaskovo, and Varna Oblasts, where in addition to physicians and dentists, nearly 50 percent of the mid-level medical personnel, consisting of Bulgarian Muslims, is leaving. Let us examine the measures we are taking in this regard.

In the first place, the mobile types of medical services have been expanded. We are introducing on a wide basis work done by substitutes, shift work in medical establishments for which one receives additional pay, reception hours at citizens' requests, a contractual system with enterprises and collective farms, second jobs for people, and other such methods.

In the second place, specialists from the Medical Academy, higher medical institutions, and health establishments in areas which are not affected by the exodus are being transferred to the areas where a severe manpower shortage prevails.

Last but not least, we should mention an additional, available resource, namely, the sending out of young medical graduates from higher and secondary specialized institutions. [passage omitted]

[Boyadzhiev] Are there any intentions to restructure medical assistance in the areas affected by a shortage of personnel?

[Apostolov] The commissions on social activities attached to oblast people's councils, in cooperation with the municipal people's councils and specialists from the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare, are now examining the current needs, as a result of which it will be established which health institutions should be reorganized, restructured, or merged with other establishments. [passage omitted]

[Boyadzhiev] Quite recently it was announced that Turkey is once more affected by severe epidemics of diarrhea and abdominal typhus. Can you describe how medical protection is organized at the borders in order to prevent a possible spreading of various diseases imported by our fellow-citizens who are returning to Bulgaria after a stay in our southern, neighboring country?

[Apostolov] A special instruction issued by the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare and a State Council decree on the subject are providing measures for the country's medical protection against epidemics and other dangerous infectious diseases. The measures were adopted on a long-term basis and are strictly applied to all Bulgarian citizens who have been staying and are returning from other countries, including the Republic of Turkey. Bulgarian citizens who have visited our southern, neighboring country are subject to cholera and malaria tests within 48 hours of their return, and to AIDS tests within the first 72 hours of their return. In addition to this, they are subject to a 5-day medical observation period for possible clinical symptoms of cholera. Considering the poor living conditions under which the major part of our citizens are forced to live during their stay in Turkey, the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare issued instructions for additional medical observations and tests related to abdominal typhoid. No cases of such diseases have so far been established among Bulgarian Muslims. [passage omitted]

Sentence for Hungarians Detainees Issued

LD2908204889 Prague CTK in English 1900 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 29 (CTK)—A Prague district court today sentenced two Hungarian citizens to expulsion from Czechoslovakia and a fine of 5,000 crowns each for a misdemeanour of violating public order. The court gave a substantial punishment of a two months' imprisonment in case the fines were not paid.

The two Hungarian citizens, Gyorgy Kerenyi, born in 1957, and Tamas Deutsch, born in 1966, were detained during an unauthorized rally in Prague on August 21, where Kerenyi read a so-called appeal of the Union of Young Democrats, the Union of Free Democrats and Solidarity of the Hungarian Independent Workers' Society, which he took over from Duetsch.

Neither the defendents nor the prosecutor appealed against the sentence, which has thus come into effect. Gyorgy Kerenyi and Tamas Deutsch were then released from detention and the fines were paid.

The public trial was attended by Hungarian Consul to Czechoslovakia Lajos Taba, Czechoslovak and Hungarian journalists and friends of the defendents, who had been allowed to come from Hungary.

AFP Report

AU2908134789 Paris AFP in English 1315 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Prague, Aug 29 (AFP)—Two Hungarian men, who were among 56 foreigners arrested in a "Prague Spring" protest rally last week, went on trial here Tuesday for offenses that could carry a six-month prison term.

Only a restricted number of people were allowed into the courtroom where the men appeared wearing handcuffs and escorted by four policemen.

Tamas Deutsch and Gyeorgy Kerenyi, respectively the head of the Hungarian oppostion youth movement FIDESZ and an activisit in the Hungarian Solidarity trade union, have been charged with "disturbing public order". If found guilty they could be jailed for six months and fined up to 20,000 korunas (2,000 dollars).

Those in the courtroom said there were translation problems and a verdict would probably not be announced for several hours.

The trial has increased tension between the Eastern bloc neighbors

Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn made an official protest Monday, warning that the two men's detention "disturbs" bilateral relations. He also said it was "incomprehensible that...Czechoslovak authorities are refusing to release the two men" while others arrested at the same time were released.

The Hungarians were among 56 foreigners and 320 Czechoslovaks hauled in on August 21 when club-wielding riot police broke up an unauthorized rally by some 2,000 protestors marking the 21st anniversary of the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The only public admitted to the trial were three Hungarian and two Czechoslovak journalists, the Hungarian consul in Prague, Lajos Taba, and a representative from each of the organizations the men represent. These latter two, Peter Molnar of FIDESZ and Attila Szilagyi of Solidarity, said they were "horrified that the men were treated like criminals".

Several friends of Mr Deutsch and Mr Kerenyi have staged a symbolic hunger strike since August 22 outside the Czechoslovak diplomatic mission in the Hungarian capital.

The official press here Tuesday said the Hungarian charge d'affaires in Prague, Janos Hanko, was "invited" to the Czechoslovak foreign ministry Monday. There, he was told Mr Deutsch and Mr Kerenyi were being treated "in accordance with the laws and international obligations of Czechoslovakia", and was asked for assurances that "peace and order be ensured outside the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest", according to an official communique.

The trial started off with one minor incident when a Hungarian journalist, offended at being filmed by what he said was plainclothes secret police, demanded the video cassette and proof of the man's identity. The man, "escorted" away by police in uniform, produced a student identification card, the sources said.

Hungarian Reaction Cited

LD3008094189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Hungary: The two Hungarian citizens whom the Prague-1 Borough Court sentenced to fines and expulsion from Czechoslovakia for violating public order during the banned gathering in Prague on 21 August have returned to Budapest. Tomas Barec, our correspondent in Budapest, reports on the initial reaction of the Hungarian mass media:

[Begin Barec recording in Slovak] Hungarian television and radio evening and night bulletins devoted an exceptional amount of attention not only to the return of Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi, but also described in detail their trial yesterday. They did not, however, forget to stress that the two Hungarian citizens arrived in Prague as tourists. This claim was contradicted by MAGYAR HIRLAP yesterday when it published a letter in which the Czechoslovak antisocialist organization Charter 77 expressed thanks to the Hungarian Federation of Young Democrats for participation in the 21 August demonstration in Prague. However, there has been no mention in the bulletins that the sentence passed by the Prague court was exceptionally lenient. We continue to be neighbors, to depend on each other; we cannot turn our backs on each other, the Hungarian daily

NEPSZABADSAG wrote. We can only agree with this. And above all in the name of this friendship, even in the future, we shall allow no one, especially representatives of organizations which do not hide their anticommunist aims and alliance with antisocialist forces in Czechoslovakia to attempt to destabilize our system and violate the law. [end recording]

Demonstration at CSSR Embassy Continues

LD2808185789 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] A demonstration by members of Hungarian opposition groups continued today in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest. Our correspondent Tomas Barec has telephoned about it:

[Barec] The cold, wet weather has thinned out considerably the ranks of those who have been for a week staging a sit-in against the detention of Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi for a serious violation of public order in Prague. Tents have been erected on the pavement and in them shivering with cold are demonstrators; Hungarian television has even shown very touching medical assistance being given to allegedly starving individuals. The question is: who is this melodrama staged for—for the staff of the Czechoslovak Embassy? The court in Prague? Or for the cameras of Western journalists who are daily guests at the demonstration?

Posters expressing solidarity with Charter 77 have disappeared. We shall stay here until our friends are released, a tall, dark haired girl with glasses says. She does not want to give her name. Others are joining in. This is an action for human rights; here people are sitting down for people, they are saying and they do not want to take any notice of Gyula Horn, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, who has already adopted the stand that it is not good for Hungarians to attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of neighboring countries.

Some of the Hungarian press has played down this statement, but on the other hand it has been describing in detail all of the events around the detained. In Prague, two Hungarian members of the opposition will face the court, writes MAGYAR MEMZET in its headline today. A reader with common sense, when reading these dramatic lines, must surely ask: Why is it that the hooliganism of two youths, whose activities were seen by television cameras, merit so much attention and the headlines of the Hungarian press?

West's Plan To 'Encourage Separatist Trends'

LD2608224789 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 26 Aug 89

["Commentary of the Week"]

[Text] The fact that building a common European home where all its inhabitants would behave decently and considerately towards each other would not be an easy job was amply demonstrated here in Prague last Monday on the anniversary of the August events in Czechoslovakia in 1968. The overwhelming majority of the thousands of holiday visitors to Czechoslovakia's capital enjoyed the sunny day and the beauties of the hospitable city, but there were also some who acted as if the city belonged to them, and they alone had the right to move the furniture in our flat—to speak figuratively—according to their own tastes. This applies to some would-be tourists from Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, and Hungary, who quite arrogantly incited unrest and attacked not only the Czechoslovak Government, but also socialism and the healthy climate in Europe.

We may quote here the Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, who said in this connection: Hungary considers interference in its internal affairs impermissible, and it is therefore wrong when Hungarians are trying to interfere in the internal affairs of their neighbors and allies. Nevertheless, the behaviour of some foreign tourists in Prague became a juicy story for some Western media in their anti-Czechoslovak propaganda campaign. However, focusing on the purpose of this campaign only from this particular aspect would mean ignoring the main point, namely the objectives pursued by those for whom socialism and the post-war developments in Europe are a thorn in their side.

In this sense, confidence can hardly be generated by pressure put on Moscow by some Western groups and politicians to review its position on events in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Already a year ago, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the question of entry of Soviet and other Warsaw Treaty troops into Czechoslovakia in 1968 could not be viewed without taking into consideration the then existing concrete situation, the then specific international events, and the situation in the world, in Europe, and within the socialist community, including Czechoslovakia. Therefore, said the Soviet spokesman, raising polemics about those events would benefit only those who are striving for confrontation, and for upsetting the situation in Europe and in the world. The Soviet Union expressed the same position this year, as well.

Stating this position is undoubtedly a well-considered act, for even 21 years later it is not possible to erase from history what had been so frankly admitted in 1968 by the WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS newspaper, when it wrote that Czechoslovakia was ripe to part from Moscow, and that the United States was prepared to do all it could to help Czechoslovakia extricate itself from the fold of the Communist countries. What the WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS wrote was confirmed by an operational plan drawn up jointly by the Pentagon and the CIA for a coup in Czechoslovakia. The plan recommended that this variant should be included in NATO strategy, and in the British Parliament Mr Mandling [name as heard] expressed his belief that if Czechoslovakia were to part from the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact were to collapse, this would be of advantage for the West. What better evidence of attempts in

the West to revise the post-war situation in Europe and the world—attempts still manifest today.

It is in this context that we should view the current campaign about secret protocols to the Soviet-German treaty of 1939. The Soviet efforts to discover the historical truth in this respect must certainly be appreciated, mainly in the interests of a true picture of the then Soviet foreign policy and as a lesson for the present and the future. However, the intensive campaign waged in the West suggests that the objective is to revise the post-war arrangement in Europe, to drive a wedge between Warsaw and Moscow, and to encourage separatist trends in the Soviet Baltic Republics. The risk involved in such a policy has recently been pointed out by the noted West German military historian (? Michal Lovson), who said that not even a partial revision of the 1939 Soviet-German pact was possible, and a total revision was completely out of the question. He underlined expressly: The wheel of history cannot be turned back, the price paid for such a revision would be chaos and bloodshed.

The more so, we may add, should we be alarmed by the attempts demonstrated by some circles in the West to upset the post-war arrangement in Europe by undermining the positions of socialism on this continent.

Reportage on Jakes, Vorotnikov at Uprising Rally

Jakes Meets Vorotnikov

AU2908115989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Aug 89 p 5

[CTK report]

[Text] A friendly meeting between Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, and Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, took place on Saturday [26 August] in Banska Bystrica. In a cordial conversation they discussed the progress of social and economic restructuring in both countries and the knowledge and experiences which have been gained from resolving the main problems, particularly, in the economic sphere. Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, and Yuriy Litvintsev, Aleksandr Silantiev, and Viktor Lomakin, members of the Soviet delegation, participated in the meeting.

Jakes Address

AU2908152389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Aug 89 p 2

["Speech by Comrade Milos Jakes," general secretary and chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, at a rally to mark the 45th Slovak National Uprising anniversary in Banska Bystrica on 26 August]

[Text] Dear comrades, esteemed friends, dear guests. With pride, we are currently commemorating the 45th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising in our entire homeland. It is one of the most significant events of our modern history. Together with the May uprising of the Czech people in 1945, it is among the most important milestones of the anti-fascist struggle of our fraternal peoples and their struggle for the resurrection of national freedom and state independence. I greet you cordially, you participants in today's mighty rally, citizens of Banska Bystrica and our entire homeland, on behalf of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, the Central Committee of the National Front, and the president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic—one of the leaders of the Slovak national uprising—Comrade Gustav Husak as well as on behalf of the Federal Assembly, the Federal Government, and all central bodies of the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics.

We cordially greet the fighters of the Slovak national uprising, partisans, participants in the entire national liberation struggle of our people, some of whom are present here. We greet them particularly cordially. We greet warmly the delegations of the USSR, as well as the other socialist countries, and other foreign guests.

The Slovak National Uprising had an international character. A number of its participants fought alongside the Slovak people—members of the fraternal Czech people, Soviet citizens, Romanians, Bulgarians, Poles, southern Slavs, French, German, Hungarian and other anti-fascists, some of whom are also among us today.

It is with deep respect that we bow to the memory of more or less known heros of the Slovak National Uprising, who in a difficult and unfair struggle, with the preponderance of Hitlerite force, demonstrated true patriotism and dedicated the most precious gift—their lives. We hold in high esteem all that was done by the fighters for the renewal of our national freedom and state independence, in home and foreign resistance, as well as during the building of socialism in our homeland. The traditions of anti-fascist national liberation struggle and its revolutionary heritage lives and will continue to live in the minds and the hearts of our peoples.

Comrades, we assess the significance of every historical event according to the aims it pursued and its influence on future development. The Slovak national uprising was a great revolutionary popular event. It emerged as a result of the will of the Slovak people who resolutely rejected the clero-fascist popular regime and who were in favor of renewing the joint state of the Czechs and the Slovaks on new foundations. The uprising thus expressed the lesson our two peoples derived from the 20-year existence or the pre-Munich bourgeois republic, its tragic disintegration as a result of the crash of a politically governing bourgeosie—and the betrayal of the then Western allies—as well as from the ensuing cruel

wartime years. This arose from the fact that a broad strata of the population took part in it, that the Communist Party was the ideological inspiration for it and was its organizer.

The Slovak National Uprising was the beginning of our national and democratic revolution which aimed at making society more fair socially and nationally, securing life interests of working people, and achieving unity with equal rights for the Czechs, Slovaks and national minorities—a society based on the alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The Slovak National Uprising also had great international significance. It was an important part of the growing international revolutionary process during the last few years of World War II and was among the biggest people's antifascist uprisings in Europe. Its ideas and experiences found their expression in the program of the first government of the National Front of the Czechs and Slovaks which was adopted in Kosice in April 1945. This program became the starting point for deep revolutionary changes in postwar Czechoslovakia which resulted in the famous February victory of working people in 1948.

With this year's celebrations of the Slovak National Uprising, we begin the period during which we will be recalling the 45th anniversary of completing the national liberation struggle of our people and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army. We will never forget the heroism, all-around help, and numerous sacrifices brought for the freedom of our nations by the Soviet people, who bore on their shouldres the principal weight of fighting fascism. In these hard times, the actual physical survival of the Czechs and Slovaks was at stake. Without the great liberating role of the Soviet Union, there would be no free Czechoslovakia. At the same time we appreciate the share of other countries of the anti-Hitler coalition in defeating Hitlerian Fascism.

During the years since the Slovak National Uprising, since the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army, deep revolutionary changes have occurred in our country. The situation of the working people has changed fundamentally, and conditions have been created to secure, through the people's devoted work, a high material and cultural level of social security, and a peaceful life for our citizens.

The people's participation in the administration and running of the state has widely developed, and the economic potential of our country has grown significantly. With the development of socialist agriculture on the basis of collectivization, rural life has changed dramatically. The standard of people's education and overall cultural level has grown substantially. The backward areas which existed in the conditions of bourgeois republic have disappeared from our country. In this period Slovakia has undergone fundamental transformations, with a particularly marked economic, social, and cultural leap. It has been extensively industrialized, the differing living conditions of our peoples have been overcome, and resolute steps have been taken for a just resolution of nationality issues. These have resulted in the application of the principle of nationality issues. These have resulted in the application of the principle of a socialist federation, which provides for the development of all aspects of the fraternal nations and nationalities on the basis of equal rights. This is one of our greatest revolutionary accomplishments and one of the greatest pillars of stability in our common socialist state. We will continue to protect these achievements, to develop and consolidate them.

The results we have achieved and the path we have traveled and embarked upon even though we had to surmount many obstacles, problems, and subjectivism, have been correct. The policy of the CPCZ and the National Front has stood the test of time. It has served the interests of the people, nations, and nationalities living in our country, and continues to do so. We wish to take the opportunity today to offer sincere thanks to the workers, peasants, intelligentsia, young people, women, communists, those with no party affiliation, members of the other political parties, and of all the National Front organizations who laid the foundations for our new society and who deserves credit for the results achieved. We wish to thank all those whose honest and dedicated work today is contributing toward to socialist development of our country.

Comrades, citizens, we return to significant historical events above all so as to be able to draw lessons from the path we have traveled, and to focus attention on unresolved problems and the new tasks life places before us. The 45th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising is being marked at a time when, on the initiative of the CPCZ, we are implementating a revolutionary program of economic and social restructuring which is supported by the clear majority of our people. It is a program of far-reaching changes in all spheres of life. Its aim is to consolidate and develop socialism. In carrying out this program, we base ourselves on our own conditions, possibilities, and needs, and we take account of the experience of the other socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union. The implementation of this program means that we must not only build creatively on everything which is positive and has proved its worth in our development to date, but we must also resolutely rid ourselves of everything that is outdated and which retards our country's dynamic development. We must seek new paths of development; combine the advantages of the socialist system more effectively with the revolution in science and technology; ensure intense economic development; deepen socialist democracy; and involve the citizens to a greater extent in managing and administering society.

This is the aim of the adopted resolutions stemming from the conclusions of the Seventh Session of the Party Central Committee, which we are implementing today. This is what we mean by comprehensive restructuring, the implementation of economic reform, the democratization of political and social life, strengthening the legal basis of our state, socialist self-management, civil rights,

improving the flow of information to the public, and greater public scrutiny. To this end it is vital to further activate the work of the National Front, which was born out of the national liberation struggle of our people, and has proved its worth throughout the period of socialist construction as the basis of our society's political system. We continue to regard the National Front as the platform for developing socialist democracy and the socialist pluralism of views and interests.

The national committees grew out of our national and democratic revolution as the revolutionary organs of people's power and administration. By carrying out restructuring in this area we aim to expand the powers of representative bodies at all levels, strengthening the real influence of citizens' activity and on the development of towns and villages. In the interest of better meeting the needs of our people, independence and accountability is being increased, especially at the basic level of the national committees, with their self-administrative functions being deepened. This must be fully utilized. The purpose of socialist state activity is to serve the people. The state is not for authorities but for people. Its apparatus must be efficient and cost effective, bound to the people and under their supervision. We want all these important facts to find their expression in the new CSSR constitution. Work on its draft is continuing, and will be examined by all the people in a debate next year.

Comrades, restructuring constitutes a great political struggle for the principle changes in thinking and practice. It is a complicated process which will require considerable effort and a certain amount of time. Its realization will not be possible without overcoming a number of obstacles, and without a resolute struggle against inertia and complacency. The program of restructuring and democratization reckons with everyone who wants to make an honest contribution and help in this great revolutionary endeavour. There are no restrictions on participation in this endeavour. A major opportunity is being created, above all for young people, to assert their capabilities, drive, and strength. This requires us to improve the preparation of young people for life, to ensure that they are educated and raised in a high degree of socialist spirit.

We strive for the widest possible dialogue in the search for, and implementation of, the paths of further socialist development. Various kinds of pressure and attempts at the weakening and destruction of socialist values, at stirring up tension and chaos in society, and at defaming the work of the party, the National Front, and whole generations of upright people dedicated to socialism serve no good purpose, however. This is the opinion of thousands of labor collectives and millions of citizens, demonstrated in their positive and active attitude toward the Proclamation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st Anniversary of Victorious February and in their unequivocally negative stand on the activity of antisocial, antisocialist forces.

Our aim is to ensure the further development of socialism, the social guarantees of the people on the basis of social justice, and social democracy and civil rights in unity with duties, discipline, and order. This is also the aim of the measures that are being taken. If, however, there exist groups of people who associate the path forward with the weakening of the leading role of the CPCZ, the National Front, and the people's power, with the reprivatization of the economy, and with unemployment, then we openly declare that this is not, and will never be, the aim of the restructuring which we are carrying out. This is something we must not allow as it would jeopardize socialism in its very foundations.

That is why we cannot tolerate the activity of those groups in our country which seek a return to the pre-February [1948] conditions and do not hesitate to stir up terror against people who openly condemn their antisocialist activity. We do not need the advice of some Western political circles and radio stations. We reject the abuse of the conclusions of the Vienna follow-up meeting for overt attempts at the destabilization of socialism in our country. We will not tolerate the misuse of visits to Czechoslovakia for interference in our internal affairs, as happened on 21 August this year.

Let everyone be clearly aware that the party, the National Front, and our working people will not vacate their positions in favor of the enemies of socialism.

The most important point today is dedicating creative work and constructive practical deeds toward implementing the aims that have been set out at all workplaces, and a calm and creative atmosphere. The results we are achieving in the national economy so far are not satisfactory. True, we are successfully safeguarding the planned growth of the national income. However, we must be more consistent in fulfilling qualitative indices. The situation in agriculture is good, particularly the production of cereals, where the plan tasks will be overfulfilled this year, so that, together with corn, we should harvest over 12 million tonnes of cereals. The fulfilment of social and economic tasks and the creation of new values must continue to be at the forefront of our attention. This is a prerequisite for safeguarding our social programs, so that we might more rapidly achieve the actual and palpable changes in the people's living and working conditions, and in better satisfying their needs and interests.

To this end, a comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism will be generally applied as of 1 January 1990. At the same time, however, we cannot remain idle. It is necessary to make good preparations everywhere for entering new conditions; to have an actual program of focusing production, increasing its efficiency, technical standards, and quality; to speed up innovation of products; to develop socialist enterprise; to deepen the social focus of the economy; to enforce high economic standards; to use basic funds better; and to valorize raw materials and production materials.

Enterprises must be aware that their future development, the level of achieved profit, the standard of remuneration, and the possibilities of social policy will continue to depend on how they manage to satisfy their customers' needs.

Strengthening the balance in the national economy, particularly on the internal market, will to a large degree depend on the consistent implementation of these demands. This is the foremost political task today—both for the center and the enterprises.

In harmony with this, central organs are working on the measures whose aim is gradual renewal of economic balance and improving the point of departure for the Ninth 5-Year Plan. For the fulfillment of the current pressing tasks one must develop the involvement, initiatve, and activity of labor collectives, which is intrinsic to responsible socialist managers.

Comrades, we see our efforts to strengthen and develop socialism by means of restructuring and democratization in broad international political connections. Implementing the aims we have set out and preserving life on our planet depends on defending peace. As a result of implementing new political thinking, in which Czechoslovakia is taking an active part, together with the USSR and the other socialist countries, positive changes are taking place in relations between states and nations, for the benefit of peaceful coexistence, trust, and cooperation.

We realize the vital significance of preserving peace on our planet with particular urgency as we mark half a century since the beginning of the worst war in the history of humanity. That is why we are at the same time troubled by the existing centers of tension and efforts by militarist forces to slow down the process of improving international relations and to exact unilateral concessions from socialist countries and interfere in their internal affairs. Nor can we overlook the activization of neofascist forces in some western countries.

Averting the war threat is a concern of all states and nations. Czechoslovakia has always pronounced itself prepared to assume its share of responsibility and has presented a number of initiatives. We are also assessing the possibility of further reducing military expenditure and shortening the length of national military service. We will cooperate in the fight to strengthen peace with all realistically reasoning political circles and peace-loving and democratic forces from all over the world. We are in favor of developing cooperation, characterized by equal rights and mutual advantages, among states and nations regardless of their social systems, and we actively help to achieve this.

As far as our foreign policy is concerned, we will consistently develop principles on which the policy began to be established during the time of the Slovak National Uprising and national liberation struggle. We will also lean on the alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist states currently looking for measures to similar questions as we are. Results of the deliberations of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee, which held its session in Bucharest last month, testify to the unified stance taken by the socialist countries regarding the key questions of the present world.

From our gathering, we send comradely greetings to the CPSU and the Soviet people, with whom we are linked by common aims, fraternal friendship, and sincere interest in developing all-around cooperation. We wish them success in tackling the tasks of revolutionary restructuring.

We send our regards to the nations of other fraternal countries and wish them many successes on their way to the renewal, improvement, and advancement of socialism. We feel solidarity with the struggle of the Polish Communists and all forces supporting socialism to secure the socialist development of the People's Republic of Poland. It is in the interest of working people of Poland as well as in the interest of developing mutual cooperation between our countries and the stability in Europe. In the same way we express support for the Hungarian Communists in their efforts to preserve the influence of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party on the developments in Hungary. We sincerely hope to continue building our relations on the basis of mutual respect and principles of socialist internationalism.

We are sure that deepening mutual cooperation, development of all kinds of cooperation, and strengthening the solidarity between the countries of our alliance are important preconditions for achieving the success of building socialism in every one of these countries as well as for strengthening socialism and the growth of its prestige in the world.

Esteemed comrades, esteemed friends, dear guests, the 45 years that have passed since the famous days of Slovak National Uprising have convincingly shown that the values for which the best sons of our people fought and died are still alive. We are developing them today during our restructuring efforts, in further improving our socialist society, and in fighting for progress and peace in the world. For us this is the decisive guideline in preparing the 18th CPCZ Congress. We believe that the congress will become an important impulse for discussing the questions on its agenda and for a wide upsurge of social and work activity and initiative in fulfilling the program of restructuring and democratization. It is in the interest of happy life of our fraternal nations and national minorities, in the interest of every citizen of our whole socialist, motherland.

Faithful to the ideals of the Slovak national uprising, to the ideals of socialism, forward toward revolutionary restructuring of our society!

Vorotnikov Speech Compared

AU2908131989

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 28 August on page 2 carries the 1,400-word speech by Vitaliy Vorotnikov, head of a USSR delegation, at a rally marking the 45th

anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising in Banska Bystrica on 26 August. Comparison with the item headlined "Vorotnikov Speaks at Slovak Uprising Rally" published in the 28 August East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 9, column one, shows the two versions to be identical except for the following:

Third paragraph, only sentence, reads ...offer to all fraternal Czechoslovak people on behalf of...[supplying additional words per PRAVDA version];

Ninth paragraph, sentences one and two, read ...by an unshakable loyalty to socialist values. This...[supplying PRAVDA version];

Eleventh paragraph, last sentence, reads ...policy will be clear cut, and ...[omitting word per PRAVDA version];

Husak Interview

AU2908124989

[Editorial Report] Under the headline "And the Czechoslovak Flag Flew Again," Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 26 August, on pages 1 and 3 in both instances, publish a 4,200-word interview with CSSR President Gustav Husak by Marie Boudova and Zdenek Horeni on—as the papers note in their introductory remarks—"some aspects of the Slovak National Uprising and its legacy for our people, for the common state of Czechs and Slovaks, for today and for the future." The date and place of the interview, which marks the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, are not given. Husak is interviewed in his capacity as historian and uprising participant and organizer.

In his opening replies, Husak discusses the historic significance of the "Declaration of the Slovak National Uprising" of 1 September 1944, in which the Slovak people endorsed the idea of "fraternal coexistence with the Czech people in a new Czechoslovak Republic," based on democratic principles and equality of the two peoples. In international politics, Husak says, the declaration signified open acknowledgement of the renewed Czechoslovak Republic, while within the framework of Slovak politics it signified "complete defeat for Ludakist policy" with its "nationalist tendencies and anti-Czech propaganda." Asked about the roots of the awareness of Czech-Slovak "togetherness," which triumphed in the uprising, Husak says that—although the "bourgeois" first Czechoslovak Republic asserted the incorrect idea of one Czechoslovak nation and thereby "played into the hands of clericalist forces and their separatist tendencies"—the impact of the first republic on Slovakia was also "positive" because "bourgeois democracy was something else than the preceding semi-feudal regime." He points out that the first republic brought Slovaks their own culture, schools, and newspapers, put an end to "direct denationalization," and enabled the legal operation of the communist party, all of which "left good traces in people's minds" and made them support the idea of a common state. The "legacy" of the uprising's idea of a common state of Czechs and Slovaks, Husak continues, is "to further purposefully develop the historic gains and traditions of our socialist state, to deepen its democratism and popular character, as well as its progressiveness in the best sense of this word, and to rely on the working masses, on their longings and needs." Each instance of a "sensitive solution of national and other problems only supports the idea of a common state," he adds.

In his subsequent replies, Husak explains how the political leadership of the uprising arrived at the idea of the National Front, which proved to be of "key significance for the further development of our republic after liberation." He says that communists' cooperation with social democrats and all other anti-fascist forces proved to be of key importance for the success of the uprising, which is what ultimately gave birth to "what we call the National Front." The National Front, Husak says, "embodies the idea of cooperation among diverse forces in implementing a specific constructive program." This platform, born in the struggle against fascism, then "entered history" as the Kosice Government Program of 1945.

Husak then turns to what he describes as the "leading role of the Slovak Communist Party in the resistance movement and in the uprising." He points out that, during the war, the party won its authority in many years of illegal work and, later, through its cooperation within the framework of the Slovak National Council [the political body standing at the head of the uprising]." It was the "most consistent anti-fascist force" in Slovakia, the only political force availing itself of a broad organizational network and publishing its own paper during the uprising, and it "strove unequivocally for the restoration of the Czechoslovak Republic and its new social and national content." According to Husak, all these factors earned the Communist Party "natural authority" among the Slovak populace. He also notes that communists profited from the popularity of, and admiration for, the Red Army.

Another aspect of the uprising discussed by Husak is its "international character." Husak notes that 3,000 Soviets, more than 2,000 Czechs, 400 Frenchmen, 200 German anti-fascists, as well as Poles, Yugoslavs, Hungarians, and members of many other nationalities fought in the uprising, all of them united by the idea of struggle for a "free, democratic, cooperating, and peaceful Europe." Asked whether this idea "contained the seeds of the present idea of the construction of a common European home," Husak agrees that "this idea is relevant also at present when global tasks of no less a significance must be solved jointly, such as the questions of disarmament, pollution, and closer cooperation in general."

Answering a question concerning contacts between the Slovak National Council and the staff of the Soviet partisan movement in Kiev, Husak says that, prior to the uprising, the Slovak leadership of the uprising did not maintain direct relations with Kiev. It was only after the uprising broke out that a delegation of Moscow political emigrants, led by Jan Sverma and including Rudolf

Slansky, who was a member of the partisan staff in Kiev, arrived in the rebels' territory and established this contact. In this context, the interviewers request Husak to say more about Slansky's role. Boudova and Horeni say: "Many people know practically nothing about Rudolf Slansky. There was even a time when he used to be erased from photographs of the uprising. What was his role and what was your personal experience from meetings with this major personality of our party at the time of the uprising?"

Husak replies that Slansky came to Slovakia with the task to help the partisans and that he acted as adviser to Smidke, who was chairman of the partisan staff. Husak recalls his many meetings with Slansky at that time and describes him as a "politically mature functionary, who settled many questions and helped the uprising." It was, however, Jan Sverma, according to Husak, who was "the most important personality of the Moscow delegation" sent to the rebels' territory.

Another "little known chapter of the Slovak National Uprising" which Husak is asked to illuminate concerns "the so-called Green's mission sent to Slovakia by U.S. President Roosevelt." In his reply, Husak first notes that he did not maintain any personal contacts with the mission, whose members were taken care of by Slovak soldiers. He continues: "Green's mission behaved loyally. Through the assistance of its members we urged greater assistance from the West. It was President Benes and the London Government who had, more or less, a monopoly on influence on America and the [Western] allies. Members of the mission did not operate in public. Later on, they were taken captive and most of them were killed. They were brave and I remember them with fondness. The mission was also a proof of the anti-fascist coalition's wide front."

In the next question, Boudova and Horeni ask Husak whether his book on the Slovak National Uprising, which he wrote in 1964, would be any different were he to write it today. Husak replies that the book was written "as defense against the deformed view of the uprising in the fifties," to redress the wrongs of the "12 or 13 years in which the Slovak National Uprising had been greatly and subjectively distorted." This is why he considered it necessary to include in his book much documentary evidence. Today, he continues, "after the historical truth about the Slovak National Uprising got its way and the uprising was purged also officially," this is no longer necessary. Were he to write his book today, he would therefore "limit the documentary weight of the book," Husak says.

In the next reply, Husak refers to the role in the uprising of people who later emigrated to the West. He says: "There were active participants in the uprising who later emigrated. Ferjancik, for example, played a positive role in the uprising, in the army. In his American exile he, too, published a book, in which, naturally, he describes the events in a distorted way. Ferjancik, just as Lettrich and others, cooperated with us within the framework of the Slovak National Council. After discussions, we used to assume joint standpoints. We were political collaborators in those days, even though after 1948 our ways parted."

In his closing reply, Husak turns to the "legacy" of the uprising, which he sees in the need to fight and make sacrifices for one's goals. Even today, Husak points out, the Czechoslovak people face new goals and should "struggle for what is important for our society and its development." "The ideas of truth, freedom, human justice, and social progress will not take hold on their own, it is up to man to push them through," he says in conclusion.

Discussion of Uprising

AU2408153289

[Editorial Report] Under the headline "The Beginning of National and Democratic Revolution," Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on page 3 and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on page 3 on 22 August both carry a 4,000-word roundtable discussion on the Slovak National Uprising, in connection with its forthcoming 45th anniversary. The participants in the undated discussion, moderated by RUDE PRAVO deputy chief editor Jaroslav Kojzar, are historians, journalists, as well as uprising participants.

The panelists discuss the significance of the uprising and emphasize the role of the Communist Party of Slovakia as its "main organizer." They are also asked to respond to various "distortions" about the uprising reportedly being spread by Western propaganda and emigre historians. For example, Historian Dusan Halaj is asked to respond to "some letters from our readers, who ask whether we do not exaggerate the significance of the Slovak National Uprising in the context of our modern history." Halaj denies this, arguing that the uprising was a "turning point" in the history of the Czech and Slovak peoples and that, despite its military defeat, "politically it definitely triumphed." He stresses that the uprising did not concern just the 60,000 soldiers and 12,000 to 17,000 partisans who participated in military operations, but that "the majority of the nation became involved in it in one way or another." It needs to be realized, Halaj says, that "it was not an armed struggle by a handful of people, but mass resistance put up by broad popular masses." Historian Stefansky subscribes to this view, pointing out that the uprising was an "all-people's antifascist uprising," the "best prepared" such uprising in Europe. He argues that the program of the uprising, which later found its reflection in the Kosice Government Program of 1945, made the uprising "the beginning of the national and democratic revolution" in Czechoslovakia.

The panelists also respond to the claim of an unnamed emigre historian that Czechoslovak propaganda strongly exaggerates the Soviet Union's role in the uprising and that "the Soviet Union's assistance to the uprising was minimal, which is why it ended in defeat." In their replies, the panelists cite various facts to demonstrate that "no one did more for the uprising than the Soviet Union." Halaj refers

to the air bridge between liberated parts of the Soviet Union and the Slovak rebels' territory, which the Soviet Union maintained throughout September and October 1944 and through which 2,000 Czechoslovak soldiers and almost 640 tonnes of weapons, ammunition, and other material were brought to Slovakia. He also emphasizes the significance of the Carpathian-Dukla operation, "the main military assistance" extended to the rebels, and the presence of some 3,000 armed Soviet citizens on Slovak territory during the uprising. Historian Stefansky also discusses the assistance which the uprising received from "the Americans." He says: "In 1984, the then American ambassador to Czechoslovakia wrote an article about American assistance to the Slovak National Uprising. Of great help was the bombing of the 'Novy Dvur' airfield near Malacky where U.S. pilots destroyed practically all German aircraft. Had this not happened, the activity of the German air force would have been substantially greater and would have caused considerable damage and heavy losses to the rebels. Objectively, however, we must also say that it was our rebel intelligence officers who ascertained information on the 'Novy Dvur' airfield and passed it on to the Americans. Regarding the Americans' assistance in the form of medical supplies to the 'Three Oaks' airfield, on the other hand, this assistance was minimal. When they brought their mission to the rebels' territory, they came, in fact, to pick up their pilots who had been shot down over the rebels' territory."

Asked whether further research can produce new insights into the uprising, Stefansky says that historians would benefit from access to Soviet archives. He also suggests that the question be studied whether it was the rebels' predominantly "defensive struggle" which contributed to their defeat. The panelists also note that researchers' attention should focus on some hitherto "insufficiently researched" aspects, such as "to what degree the German fascist command knew about the rebels' intentions and managed to decode their messages," and the participation of Czech nationals in the uprising.

Charter 77 Spokesman Guilty of Antistate Activity

LD2908143189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] The main proceedings were held at Gottwaldov district court today in the criminal case against [spokesman for Charter 77] Stanislav Devaty of Gottwaldov. The prosecution charged Devaty with having committed a criminal act of incitement when he and other persons, out of hostility to the socialist social and state system, shared in the drafting of documents and in organizing a signature campaign in their support. These activities were carried out at the end of last year and the beginning of this year. Devaty falsely accused the socialist state and social system of violating constitutional and other laws and international agreements in the field of human rights and liberties. He also sent these documents to the Federal Assembly and the Federal Government Presidium.

Stanislav Devaty was found guilty of criminal activity. The courts sentenced him to manditory deprivation of liberty amounting to 20 months in the first corrective-educational group. It reached its verdict because of the degree of social danger of the accused's conduct, in attempting to provoke antisocialist moods against the socialist system in Czechoslovakia. The verdict has not yet come into force.

Present at the proceeding were representatives of the Committee of Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights.

Further Details

AU2908155789 Paris AFP in English 1544 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Gottwaldow, Czechoslovakia, Aug 29 (AFP)—Czechoslovak opposition leader Stanislav Devaty has been sentenced to 20 months in prison here in this central Czechoslovak town, an official source said Tuesday.

Mr Devaty, a spokesman for the Charter 77 human rights group, was found guilty of "incitement to rebellion," of making "false accusations against the government" and of being the "enemy of socialist society, the state and its bodies."

Mr Devaty was the initiator of the "A few phrases" petition which was signed by 20,000 people and which called for a dialogue with the Czechoslovak Government and a move towards "real" democracy.

The opposition leader was released pending the outcome of an appeal.

Mr Devaty has been jailed three times since the beginning of the year. He systematically went on hunger strike and was released a few weeks later.

On Monday, an appeal court at Hradec Kralove 100 kilometres (65 miles) east of Prague upheld a decision to sentence another opposition leader, Frantisek Starek, to two-and-a-half years in prison also for "incitement to rebellion."

Trade With U.S. Not Fulfilling Potential

LD2908163389 Prague CTK in English 1233 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 29 (CTK)—The volume of Czechoslovak-U.S. trade reaches 790 million crowns annually and though last year it increased by 21 percent it still falls short of the possibilities of both countries.

Development of trade is hindered by a number of restrictive measures applied against Czechoslovak trade corporations on the part of the United States. Czechoslovak exports are obstructed by high duties on Czechoslovak goods, following from the fact that the USA does not acknowledge the most-favoured-nation status in relation to Czechoslovakia. Imports from the USA are hindered mainly by U.S. export control regulations and

the conditions set by Cocom, the Coordinating Committee for Export Control, set up in 1950.

This development originated in the cold war period in 1950 when traditionally beneficial relations between Czechoslovakia and the Western countries stagnated and even declined. This state was in particular reflected in Czechoslovak-American trade relations. While Czechoslovakia's economic relations with advanced Western countries were gradually normalized over the years, this was not the case in relations to the United States.

A certain possibility of expanding economic cooperation emerged at the beginning of the 1980's when Czechoslovak-U.S. legal and property matters were settled. However, no significant changes occurred. A signal for opening a bilateral dialogue came when the U.S. side proposed to set up two working groups—one for humanitarian issues and one for making bilateral trade easier. The second group held several sessions dealing with ways of removing barriers to the development of trade but so far no significant progress heralding an improvement of the present state of affairs has been made. It is, above all, up to the U.S. side to decide when a substantial change in bilateral economic relations will take place.

FRG Court Issues Hijackers Sentences

LD2908194189 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] The trial of Stefan Macicko and Dusan Styk reopened today with a final session in Frankfurt-am-Mein after a break that started on 27 July. Exactly 5 months ago the two hijacked a Hungarian Airlines plane in Prague which landed in Frankfurt after they threatened to use firearms.

A decision by court authorities prevented journalists from making any sound or video recordings. The two accused said that they had wanted to go to the West. When asked why, they replied that they had been persecuted in Czechoslovakia and had problems at school, at work, and at home. Their parents pressured them to study. They allegedly got only Kcs 20 per month in wages. They refused to join the Socialist Youth Union. Their statements were aimed at giving the impression that they had been politically persecuted. Nevertheless, what constantly kept emerging was their immaturity and naivete, as well as distorted ideas about life in the West. A representative of the prosecutor's office stressed in his summation that the two accused had not been in any danger and had committed the offense out of desire for adventure and because they wanted to join a consumer society. During the hijacking they put the lives of innocent people in grave danger and seriously disrupted international air traffic.

Judge Klaus (Kirshoweit) then pronounced a very lenient sentence: the two juvenile hijackers were sentenced to 2 years of enforced stay at a reformatory in Karlshof. The time spent in detention is to be counted toward the length of the sentence.

This trial took place despite the fact that the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry asked the appropriate FRG authorities several times to extradite the two hijackers. All conditions prescribed by FRG laws in a case of extradition were fulfilled. The failure to extradite the hijackers has the hidden potential of leading to a repetition of such crimes.

Baltic States 'Discriminatory' Policy Criticized

AU2508121589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Aug 89 p 6

[Article by Moscow correspondent Vladimir Jancura: "When Everyone Cooks His Own Soup...."]

[Excerpts] The Latvian Government is now introducing unusual shopping cards for inhabitants permanently resident in that Baltic union republic. Reports are coming in from Riga that all photographic services shops there are under siege because the cards must have the holder's photograph in them.

The catalogue of food items and industrial merchandise which from now on can be bought only by holders of these cards is very long, virtually endless. True, it does not include sugar, soap, and detergent, but all of them can be had only with a ration card anyway. What is an individual tourist to do in such a situation, or a person sent here on duty from other parts of the USSR?

Unlike in Vilnius, where similarly draconian measures (supposedly) "to protect consumer interests" had been adopted even earlier, in Riga they will not sell you even a diet sausage or ordinary cheese unless you produce the card. However, even in Lithuania they are in no way kind to non-residents. They will sell you a maximum of 100 grams of that sausage or cheese....

The official reasons cited by the authorities of the three Baltic republics in defense of their "protectionist" policy are virtually identical. What is involved are, supposedly, only "temporary barriers against the disproportionate outflow of consumer goods." Does this perhaps mean that the shopping cards will be pulped as soon as the situation on the internal market improves? Yes, definitely, comes the reply. Judging from reports in the Baltic press, however, the next "move" will be the introduction of the republics' own currencies. The reason? Transition to "regional economic accountability."

The Estonian currency unit even has its name already—"koru." According to V. Volt, professor at the Tallin Management Institute, 1 koru should initially equal 8 (!) rubles and $1. "We need dollars without delay," the professor writes, "as it could easily happen that the Latvians will not sell us their merchandise either for rubles or for korus. But the main thing right now," Professor Volt continues in all seriousness, "is to prepare our own qualified cadres for future Estonian exchange bureaus...." [passage omitted]

But let us return to the shopping cards. They have already managed to trigger a chain reaction. A couple of days ago the Kaliningrad Oblast of the RSFSR, which neighbors on the Lithuanian SSR, adopted countermeasures. It was somewhat more ingenious and, above all, more economical in its approach. From now on, goods in short supply can be bought there only after the presentation of an identity card. These suffice for a shop assistant to verify the consumer's permanent place of residence....

And what do Muscovites have to say about all this? They are at a great loss. Should the capital city, too, introduce cards and discriminate against its guests? Incidentally, this would affect about 1.5 million people every day, among them thousands of tourists and business travelers from the Baltic states. But what would be left of the Soviet Federation, which, even in its renewed variant (see the CPSU's platform "The Nationality Policy of the Party Under Current Conditions"), postulates as the supreme goal the maxim that "a Soviet citizen must feel at home anywhere in the country?"

The well-known Soviet publicist T. Gaydar recently returned from a visit to Yugoslavia. The words are worth quoting, which his friends there had impressed on him: "Do not repeat our mistakes. Expand the powers of the republics and local bodies, but heed our experience. The communes in Yugoslavia have turned into bastions of local bureaucracy, which is much worse than bureaucracy in the center. And the republics, under the cloak of struggle for national interests, have torn the national market into fragments. When every member of a family begins to cook soup just for himself, it will be expensive and not exactly the tastiest soup."

And, to conclude, let us quote the warning of a commentary on Central Soviet Television: "Let us see to it that, as they switch over to regional economic accountability, neighboring republics and oblasts do not change from being good business partners to being irreconcilable enemies!"

RUDE PRAVO Marks Romanian National Day

AU2408153089

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 23 August on page 6 carries a 1,900-word article by Academician Karel Julis, CSSR deputy premier, chairman of the Czechoslovak section of the Joint CSSR-Romanian Government Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, entitled "Cooperation and Common Goals." The article marks Romania's National Day. In the opening part of his article, Julis recalls the circumstances of the "victory of Romanian progressive forces over fascism" 45 years ago and the role played by Romanian soldiers in liberating Czechoslovak territory in 1945.

He goes on to briefly sketch the "successes" achieved by the "Romanian people in building a new social order in the country" after the war and, in particular, since the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] in 1965. Julis cites various statistical figures on Romanian economic development since the Ninth RCP Congress, which he describes as a "watershed." A particularly "valuable success," according to Julis, was the elimination of Romania's foreign debt in March 1989.

The subsequent part of the article is devoted to the "traditionally good relations" between Czechoslovakia and Romania. Julis cites the number of agreements between the two countries, and dwells on the benefit which both countries derive from their implementation. He notes that last year the two countries reached a record trade turnover, 702 million in transferable rubles, and that the trade protocol for 1989 foresees an increase in the mutual exchange of goods by an additional 4 percent. Julis also lists the main items which Czechoslovakia exports and imports from Romania. Speaking about mutual cooperation, Julis calls for "new paths and higher forms" of cooperation, especially for the expansion of specialization, production sharing, and direct links in general. He cites cases of enterprises engaged in such "mutually beneficial cooperation" already.

In conclusion, Julis cites unspecified "recently adopted documents" on Romanian development plans and strategic targets until 2010 and wishes Romania "good economic results and many successes in building socialism."

Press Conference on State of Czech Economy

AU2508130089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Aug 89 p 2

[Zdenek Hoffmann, Igor Sirota report: "Search for Resources Accelerating Economic Growth; News Conference on the Session of the Czech Socialist Republic Government"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondents)—Departments administered by the Government of the Czech Socialist Republic [CSR] have so far this year been fulfilling the volume and qualitative indicators of the 1989 plan and several indicators are even being exceeded. Nonetheless, we cannot be content because the results do not satisfy the needs of our society, Miroslav Toman, first deputy chairman of the CSR Government and chairman of the Czech Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development, told a news conference held on Wednesday [23 August], immediately after the CSR Government session.

Economic balance has not been fully safeguarded and all demands of the market have not been met. [passage omitted] We also cannot be satisfied with the development of capital construction, in which the trend toward exceeding the volume of planned construction work and deliveries continued while the proportion of modernization and reconstruction projects was low and the meeting of deadlines and the bringing of production facilities on line did not improve.

The greatest problems in the department of the CSR Ministry of Construction and the Building Industry concerned financial management and the securing of

wage resources. For these reasons, a set of measures is being implemented in this department with a view to renewing the stability and dynamism of building organizations. These measures were approved by the CSSR Government in July.

Differences among individual manufacturing organizations in the standard of management lingered. Specialized groups of experts from central agencies have been sent to 22 state enterprises to find ways of improving their situation. Their initial findings show that the organizations' failures are mainly caused by inertia, by their waiting for the center to intervene, and their reliance on supplemental resource allocations. Instead, they should look for untapped resources and seek the implementation of innovation projects in their own enterprises. In this context M. Toman mentioned that in September the experience will be assessed of those national economic sectors which have in their entirety embarked upon the new conditions of management, that is, mainly the experience of the agriculture-food complex and of retailing organizations.

Replying to a RUDE PRAVO question asked in connection with the drafting of the program of structural changes in the CSR and concerning the use of manpower from branches whose production will be cut back, M. Toman said that a steadily growing number of intensification factors is being introduced into the production process. Whereas 2 years ago intensification factors accounted for 87 percent of generated profits, in the first half of this year they accounted for 93 percent. This makes it possible, among other things, to reduce the number of workers in the production sphere and to reinforce services, retailing, and other sectors of the tertiary sphere, which suffer from a shortage of manpower. Already today, the transfer of labor to where society needs it most is thus being brought about in this natural way.

Jiri Nikodym, minister of finance, prices, and wages, replied to another RUDE PRAVO question, concerning the enterprises' conduct of their financial affairs in the first half of the year. He said that the enterprises' aggregate indebtedness has been cut roughly 50 percent. Nonetheless, the situation must be assessed soberly. The strain in the state budget continues and, as the Government has affirmed, enterprises cannot count on any supplemental subsidies.

As has become apparent, the restructuring of wholesale prices has produced great differences among individual enterprises, Josef Benes, deputy chairman of the Czech Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development, said. There are enterprises operating at a great loss as well as enterprises with a large rate of profitability accounted for, inter alia, by the adjustment of wholesale prices. It is therefore necessary to continue putting prices on a more objective footing and to gradually move closer toward world prices.

Ladislav Sipek, CSR deputy minister of trade and tourism, who spoke about the situation on the domestic market, mentioned some specific steps aimed at improving it. He said, for instance, that Kcs3.5 billion worth of goods are to be imported from the PRC and that use is to be made not only of rapid sea transport but, if need be, even of air transport so that most of this merchandise can appear on our market before this year is out. [passage omitted]

Czech Government Discusses Economic Performance

AU2508115089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Aug 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Meeting of the Government of the Czech Socialist Republic"]

[Excerpt] Prague—At its meeting on Wednesday [23 August], the Government of the Czech Socialist Republic [CSR] discussed a report on the main trends in the development of the national economy in the first half-year.

It noted that the achieved economic results correspond with the trends of the preceding years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, even though the tasks of the annual plan in the indicators of volume and quality are being fulfilled in principle. However, a more marked positive shift has, so far, not occurred when it comes to resolving longstanding substantive problems and shortcomings, especially as regards ensuring the balance of the domestic market, in comprehensive housing construction, and in ecology-related investments. Therefore, the CSR Government instructed the pertinent ministers to eliminate and minimalize deviations from the plan in enterprises which are not fulfilling the determined tasks, and to maintain favorable development in those national economy sectors in which the plan is being exceeded. At the same time, the meeting discussed the progress of work on the restructuring of the economic mechanism and on the preparations of the 1990 state plan. [passage omitted]

Slovak National Council Official Retires

AU2508120989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Aug 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Per Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Summary] At its session in Bratislava on 23 August, among other things, the Presidium of the Slovak National Council "complied with the request of Slovak National Council Deputy Chairman Jan Gregor to be released from the post of Slovak National Countil deputy chairman and member of the Slovak National Council Presidium in connection with his retirement on 31 August."

Changes in East Slovak Party Organization

AU2508135389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Aug 89 p 2

[Jan Markovic report: "For a More Effective Political Influence; From a Session of the East Slovak Communist Party of Slovakia Regional Committee"]

[Excerpts] Kosice—Yesterday's session of the East Slovak Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Regional Committee discussed a report on the implementation of the resolutions of the Seventh and Ninth Sessions of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee under the conditions of the city party organization in Kosice. The session was attended by Pavel Bolvansky, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Yesterday's session of the East Slovak CPSL Regional Committee also discussed some cadre issues. Rudolf Blaho was released from the post of member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Regional Committee, as well as from the post of chairman of its ideological commission, in connection with his retirement. Thanks were conveyed to him for 20 years of dedicated work. Jozef Novak, who until now worked as deputy chairman of the East Slovak Regional National Committee, was approved for all these posts.

Human Rights Organization Statutes Approved

AU2508121689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Aug 89 p 2

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Frantisek Kincl, CSSR minister of interior, received in Prague on Wednesday [23 August] ranking officials of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, headed by its chairman, Prof Dr of Medicine Zdenek Dienstbier, doctor of sciences, and presented to them the approved statutes of that organization.

Krumnikl Views Problems in Energy Sector

AU2508143389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Aug 89 p 2

["pp"-signed report: "The Progress of Structural Changes"]

[Excerpts] Prague (our correspondent)—Because of the mild winter, the consumption of fuels and energy in the first 6 months of the year markedly decreased. However, this desirable phenomenon caused considerable problems to the individual branches of the fuel and energy complex regarding sales. The planned tasks in the extraction of coal and production of briquets, lighting gas, electricity, and heat were not fulfilled, a matter which had a considerable impact on almost all enterprises managed by the Ministry of Fuel and Power.

The structural changes in the production of fuels and the generation of energy continued this year with the needs of the national economy and the population having been fully covered, without having to set limits for power consumption. The extraction of brown coal and the electricity generation in conventional power plants (by 1 billion kWh compared with the plan) are being reduced, and the deliveries of natural gas and the generation of electricity in nuclear power plants increased. Nuclear power plants accounted for 28.2 percent of our electricity consumption and thus exceeded the planned tasks by 564 million kWh. [passage omitted]

When it comes to the construction of new capacities, the ministry grapples with its biggest problems. Despite the considerable clampdown on investments in recent years, the deadlines on the majority of the most important projects are not being met. The lag in the construction of the Mochovce nuclear power plant has increased from 13 months to 2 years, and the deadlines for the completion of the construction, both of a section of the transit gas pipeline and the thermal feeder from the Melnik power plant to Prague, are seriously endangered. The reason for this is the shortage of pipes. In the majority of the mandatory projects of the state plan they are grappling with the shortage of basic construction materials.

At a press conference preceding the statewide celebrations of the Day of Miners and Power Engineers, held in Prague on Wednesday [23 August], Antonin Krumnikl, CSSR minister of fuel and power, spoke at great length about the impact of the structural changes in the national economy on the work collectives in enterprises managed by the ministry. At the moment, the phasing-out of extraction concerns only our uranium industry. In that respect, A. Krumnikl stressed that documents solving both the technical aspects connected with the reduction of the uranium extraction and the social measures for employees transferred to nonmining operations, as well those released from the uranium mining sector, are being prepared so that the government can make decisions. Even though one envisages the extraction of coal to decrease by about 10 million tonnes in the coming 5-year plan, the situation in coal mining will not require any special social measures. The assumed decrease of manpower can be fully resolved by limiting recruitment.

Appeal Made To Physicians To Stay for Patients

LD3008103389 Hamburg DPA in German 0921 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The deputy medical director of the Goerlitz Area [bezirk] hospital, senior consultant Hans-Joachim Schulze, has appealed to doctors wishing to leave the country to stay in the GDR in the interests of their patients. He and his colleagues were very concerned that GDR citizens were leaving their country, the senior consultant wrote in the Dresden SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG newspaper, according to Information Bureau West today. In the GDR the personal commitment of doctors was "urgently needed, to take good care of the citizens and also to help overcome the problems and weaknesses in our health system." Schulze said: "We, as doctors, belong with our patients. Anyone who leaves, will be abandoning them."

The Catholic weekly TAG DES HERRN [Day of the Lord] in Leipzig reported on considerable staff shortages in the GDR's 31 catholic hospitals. The wards were understaffed because of doctors and other staff leaving the country. Information Bureau West said that the East Berlin St. Hedwig's Hospital was "on the verge of having to restrict its service."

Writer Stefan Heym Discusses Refugee Wave

AU2908105389 Vienna PROFIL in German 28 Aug 89 pp 26-27

[Interview with GDR writer Stefan Heym by Fred David: "This Form of Socialism Is At Its End"—date and place not given]

[Text] PROFIL: Mr Heym, what did you think when you saw on West German television last weekend [19-20 August] the scenes of the Hungarian border where several hundred GDR citizens opened a wooden gate and, under the eyes of Hungarian border guards, simply walked to the West?

Heym: Various things crossed my mind, not least was the consideration that all this cannot have happened totally incidentally. Buses that had been made available by the West German Government were reportedly already waiting on the Western side of the border. However, these are just details of a matter that has become a mass phenomenon.

PROFIL: In your autobiographical book "Obituary," you describe a scene where a certain Stefan Heym escapes from Germany to the CSSR near Hirschberg. You write that the escape appeared to be unreal because high up in the mountains the walk to the lavatory in fact meant crossing the border. Did you also remember that last weekend?

Heym: Certainly, I also thought of my escape in March 1933, and I was somewhat annoyed. Because at that time, it was really a matter of survival for the young anti-fascist poet Heym; the Nazis were on my heels. However, regarding the good people at the Austrian-Hungarian border, they have really less dramatic reasons; nor was there a reception committee waiting for us at that time, nor was there a government authority which gave us money, new documents, and housing. We must point out time and again that most of those who leave the GDR do so quite legally. There will be 80,000 this year.

PROFIL: You yourself said these days that we are dealing with a phenomenon that might destroy the GDR. That surely shows the tragic and explosive nature of the events.

Heym: Of course, all this is extremely dangerous for the GDR. When people leave, manpower and the number of citizens decreases. No matter whether they were reliable citizens or not—they are gone. And it is so embarrassing! Imagine what Marx and Engels would have said about a form of socialism that the people run away from!

PROFIL: But the crisis is not solely confined to the GDR. Things are rapidly changing with our eastern neighbors: Poland will soon have a government in which the communists are the minority; Hungary is developing into a pluralist society; and Boris Yeltsin, the head of the opposition in the USSR, is reading papers from the United States. When will the GDR build walls against the East?

Heym: Careful. Many people in the West are viewing things in too simplistic a way. What we are experiencing here, is not the collapse of socialism, it is the failure of Stalinism.

PROFIL: Is this differentiation still of any importance?

Heym: Of course, it is. Originally, one intended to implement socialism as quickly and comprehensively as possible, and therefore, one gave him the steel corset which was later called Stalinism. This type of party rule was enforced in the GDR less brutally than in many other socialist states. However, instead, a very specific form of governess rule has developed in our country—a rule of governesses who claim that they know everything better and make all decisions and dictate to the people what they have to talk about and believe and do. If some of the people, who are treated immaturely, do not accept these prescriptions, they are punished like children and get the usual smack on the back. This form of socialism is at its end and ruined.

PROFIL: Is there still at all hope for the GDR?

Heym: If this were not the case, I would no longer live in the GDR. Socialism requires democracy—in any case. Decisions cannot always be left to a limited group of persons who then enforce their measures through a pyramidal, immensely inflated administrative apparatus. Such method may have been necessary under certain conditions and for a limited time....

PROFIL: Under what circumstances?

Heym: In war, for example, including in cold war, even though it is already doubtful in this latter situation. In the Soviet Union, things could initially only be done by force, and without force, the French Revolution would not have been possible either; claiming anything else would be nonsense. It was a historic necessity. However, when it was possible to reduce force, the comrades had already got used to it too much, and did not drop it.

PROFIL: The drive for change in the direction of democratic socialism has been coming from the Soviet Union. Why is the GDR leadership so totally inflexible?

Heym: The GDR leadership is not only composed of barbarians. Most of these people are not naturally hard-line or cruel; they are partly very well-meaning people with only the best intentions. However, they are marked by their combat experience during fascism, when many of them were suffering underground, in concentration camps, and in exile. They believe that if they give up their defensive attitude, their work of a lifetime will be destroyed. And regarding Poland, they must really be shocked.

PROFIL: There is not even an opposition in the GDR that deserved this name.

Heym: Many of the relatively young people from the GDR in Hungary and Austria, who appear in West German television every evening with the story of their escape, are basically narrow-minded, and their ideas of democracy are primitive.

PROFIL: Educated by the GDR.

Heym: Children know at school already what their teacher really thinks, namely, she rarely thinks what she says. This is one of the causes of the country's psychological problems. Those who wield power had time enough to change this—28 years. However, they did not use the time. They built the Wall in 1961, because the people ran away. Following that, they could not run away any more. Then it would have been time to change the course and develop a sensible, attractive, right socialism, instead of the "real existing socialism." This was not done.

PROFIL: What prevented the rulers from doing so?

Heym: Lack of imagination and lack of courage. However, applying the Stalinist model was much easier than thinking up a model of their own. The magnetism of another, much larger Germany has been overwhelmingly strong from the start. The people remained emotionally disinterested. The immediate consequence of this was the low productivity in the economy, the unnecessary wear, sloppiness, incredible laziness, and bureaucracy.

PROFIL: How can things in the GDR continue? What do you think about an opposition party?

Heym: Actually, I do not know whether and how fast this party ....

PROFIL: ... the Socialist Unity Party of Germany ....

Heym: ... can change, and whether there should not be new parties. All are trying to find a new social pattern—the Russians, the Hungarians, the Poles. Nobody can tell now where we will be going. Nobody.

PROFIL: All are in search of something new—except for the GDR leadership?

Heym: I do not know who is reflecting there on what. However, it seems that they do not under any circumstances want to see in our country that they are in a damned serious crisis. They keep pursuing a glorified ostrich policy. One thing is certain: The GDR must change—however, in a cautious and careful way.

PROFIL: Are there at all enough critically minded GDR citizens who would be ready to support a change?

Heym: There is a potential of such people. Not only narrow-minded people have been raised in this Republic. I know how happy people are in publishing houses when the readers' department has finally succeeded in publishing a decent book again. The same thing applies to science, arts, and the economy. Those who are happy are the people who support this Republic. That this country functions at all relatively well, is due to the fact that people of this kind are still trying hard to implement socialism, real socialism, despite all the tutelage and permanent castration that they are exposed to. With them you could carry out, within a week, a change of the type I suggested.

PROFIL: Why has that not been done?

Heym: Because nobody has given the go-ahead.

PROFIL: Who could give it?

Heym: I think there are some people who would like to do so. I hope you will not ask me to give you names.

PROFIL: Western politicians often talk about a "Marshall Plan" for the East. What do you think about that?

Heym: Cooperation in the European home should at any rate become more specific soon. The residents of the European home—Gorbachev's formula—should be interested in there being no chaos in the room next door, because they hear the noise, and in addition, the wall could be damaged. If the walls are even supporting walls, there would be the danger of collapse.

PROFIL: Regarding the GDR, there are apprehensions that as a result of closer economic cooperation, the existing conditions in the country would only be further cemented.

Heym: When I watch West German television and read your newspapers, virtually everything really interesting deals with the current developments in East Europe. That means that there is mutual interest in developments. We are not only of entertainment value to you. Rather, the West is so concerned about us because it has

a special interest in chaos not breaking out in the East. Hence it follows that those people in West and East who refuse to see that the world changes and that they have to change with it, must resign. They will do so. They have no other alternative.

FRG Policy Towards Neo-Nazis Criticized

Influence Criticized

AU3008113889 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 26-27 Aug 89 pp 1,2

[Werner Fahlenkamp commentary: "Thoughts at the Weekend"]

[Text] He, Franz Schoenhuber of the "Adolf Hitler" SS-Leibstandarte [SS elite unit], is already exulting that he is indirectly participating in the government in Bonn. The chancellor and chairman of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] is bowing to the "Republicans," who have called for the head of his secretary general—and Geissler had to go. Today, 50 years after World War II, which was unleashed by the Nazis, the neo-Nazis are providing guidelines for Bonn's personnel policy, which was already unprecedented under Konrad Adenauer with his Globke [state secretary in the Chancellery].

It was not even possible to keep Geissler as secretary general of the chancellor's party! Geissler is the one whom Willy Brandt recently called "the worst inciter in this country since Goebbels"—Geissler, who slandered Ossietzky and his followers by claiming that their pacifism made Auschwitz possible, who reviled the peace movement and the Social Democratic Party of Germany as the "fifth column of the Soviet Union" in the FRG, and who called the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War "a disgrace"!

Geissler was fired because in his desperate effort to stop CDU voters disappearing toward the right he simply had to make a few critical remarks about Schoenhuber's "Republicans" (with whom other prominent figures of the CDU and the Christian Social Union are already contriving a coalition). They really have come a long way in 40 years of the FRG, "Adenauer's grandchildren," who are boasting of the "luck of having been born late," and dream the dream of the Reich and returning to this Reich within the borders of 1937. But they are not only dreaming, they are trying gradually to realize their dreams by means of a blown-up antisocialist campaign. For this purpose they resort to the meanest methods, from the "Pan-European Meeting" of the luckless Otto von Habsburg, the political adventurers of the "Bruesewitz Center" with their links with the Italian neofascist scene, who operate under a pseudoreligious cover, to the presumed "obligation to care for all Germans" (who are supposed to fall into the traps of the rat-catchers and to accept an X for a Y); all this is not quite that new in the German history of the past 50 or 60 years.

In the meantime, everyone in Europe who understands politics and is aware of his responsibility does not, even cannot have any doubt about how dangerous the game that is being played here is. That is why it is above all so important to make sure that never again can war start from German soil but only peace, and to logically forego anything that disturbs this peace, stability, and security.

For topical reasons one asks oneself whether the FRG media's infamous slander campaign against the GDR is not perhaps being promoted in such a way because—in fundamental contrast to the other German state, in which the old evil German ideology is rampant—in the socialist German state everything every day is done to ensure that only peace starts from here? Because in the world German antifascism and its legacy are equated with the GDR!

What was it that Miles Lerman, director for international relations of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, said in Berlin? "Here all victims of Nazi barbarism are remembered and extensive tribute is paid to the heroic struggle of Hitler's opponents. Obviously, this reflects the efforts that are made by your country's government: carefully preserving and passing on antifascist traditions, in particular with a view to the coming generations."

Because we have learned from history, we consider this as one of the decisive basic values that determines our relationship with the GDR, our state. And there can be no substitute for this.

FIR Secretary Interviewed

AU2908151889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26-27 Aug 89 p 5

[ADN report: "FRG Policy Favors Strengthening of Neo-Nazis"]

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—In an interview with ADN in Vienna, Oskar Wiesflecker, secretary of the International Federation of Resistance Fighters (FIR), discussed the intellectual connection between the shocking increase of neo-fascist forces, in particular in the FRG, and the demands by Bonn politicians for the reestablishment of the "German Reich within the borders of 1937." The members of the 78 national associations from 27 countries, which cooperate in the FIR, have had the experience that fascism means war, the violation of human rights, and incredible suffering. Therefore, it was all the more alarming for the former resistance fighters and victims of fascism that 50 years after the beginning of World War II, ultrarightist groups like the one of SS-man Schoenhuber are getting such an enormous impetus in the FRG. This neo-fascism is in contradiction to the agreements within the framework of the CSCE, because discrimination and racism mean disregarding human rights, which were set down in the Helsinki Final Act and in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Oskar Wiesflecker thinks that one of the reasons for this

lies in the policy of the ruling Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union, which has been "open" toward this trend.

"If one listens to the statements by politicians and reads the newspaper reports which use the arguments that are also used by the ultrarightists and neo-fascists, one must not be surprised if the voters become susceptible to that. There are politicians who again are reveling in the ideas of a Greater German Reich within the borders of 1937 and are thus making claims on territories on other states, which is in contradiction to international treaties, such as the Potsdam Agreement or the Warsaw Treaty with Poland."

In the GDR such trends are inconceivable for the FIR secretary. "There the legacy of the antifascist struggle is a basic law of actions;. Nazism was truly rooted out, and, in contrast to the other German state, no former SS dignitaries achieved decisive positions. In the GDR, tested antifascists are working in responsible positions and education is carried out in the antifascist-democratic spirit."

It is certainly possible "that there are some young people who have been incited by the propaganda of various Western media, which are using certain slogans for a few provocations." However, slanderous remarks to the effect that in the GDR, too, ultrarightism is increasing, are only used to deviate attention from their own grievances.

Oskar Wiesflecker said that, in connection with the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the attack by fascist Germany on Poland, the FIR has pointed out and will point out over the coming days that unified actions of all democratic forces are necessary in view of the increasing neo-Nazi danger in the FRG. In particular, those who bear political responsibility have to be called upon to do everything to nip this trend in the bud.

Youth Delegation on 'Neo-Nazism'

AU3008121589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26-27 Aug 89 p 5

[ADN report: "GDR Youth Delegation Spoke With FRG Metal Workers"]

[Text] Frankfurt/Main (ADN)—After 5 days of talks with young metal workers in Wolfsburg, Bielefeld, and Frankfurt/Main, a youth delegation of the Central Executive Council of the GDR Metalworkers Industrial Trade Union concluded its visit to the FRG on Friday [25 August]. The delegation discussed with its partners questions of joint responsibility for peace and disarmament and problems and goals of trade union work with young people in enterprises. With concern the representatives of the two metalworkers trade unions came out against the increasing neo-Nazism in the FRG.

Information Exchange Signed With West Berlin

AU2908114989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26-27 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Protocol on Information Exchange With Berlin (West)"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [25 August] a protocol on the exchange of information in case of damage to water sources, which may affect the other side, was concluded in Berlin by the GDR Ministry of Environmental Protection and Water Conservancy and the Berlin (West) Senat Administration for Urban Development and Environmental Protection. Gerhard Voigt, department head in the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Water Conservancy, signed the protocol for the GDR, and Senat Councillor Klaus Melsheimer signed for the West Berin Senat Administration.

Consultations With Denmark on 44th UNGA

AU2908115389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26-27 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Consultations Between GDR and Denmark"]

[Text] Copenhagen (ADN)—Ambassador Harald Rose, head of the UN Department of the GDR Foreign Ministry, stayed in Copenhagen at the invitation of the Danish Foreign Ministry for consultations in preparation of the forthcoming 44th session of the UN General Assembly. He was received for a talk by Under State Secretary Benny Kimberg. Both sides stressed the necessity to universally strengthen the United Nations in the interest of consolidating international security, promoting the disarmament process, and solving other global problems. They assessed the consultations as an expression of the high level of goodneighborly relations between the Kingdom of Denmark and the GDR.

Greetings Sent on Slovak Uprising Anniversary

AU3008091689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Aug 89 p 1

[ND report: "Peoples of the GDR and the CSSR Are Fraternally Linked"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, have sent the following telegram to Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], CSSR President Gustav Husak, and Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the CSSR Government:

Dear Comrades,

On the 45th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising, we convey to you, the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government, and the Czechoslovak people most cordial greetings and congratulations of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the GDR people.

With this uprising, the Slovak people made a worthy and unforgotten contribution to the heroic struggle of the people against fascist barbarism, which 50 years ago threw mankind into the bloodiest war in its history. At the same time, the Slovak national uprising also established important preconditions for the democratic renewal of the CSSR, which has developed to a stable, efficient, and internationally renowned socialist state under the leadership of its Communist Party. We observe with great pleasure and respect the great achievements that are being accomplished by the working people of your country for the further strengthening of socialism and in preparing the 18th CPCZ Congress.

We note with satisfaction that the militant alliance between CSSR and German Communists, which stood its test in the Slovak national uprising, is currently being continued in the close friendship and fraternal affinity between our parties, states, and peoples as well as in the determined work for peace and socialism. With trusting cooperation, the far-reaching stipulations for a higher quality of relations for the welfare of our peoples, which were set down at our latest meetings in Berlin and Prague, are being purposefully implemented. The joint and independent initiatives of our states for more security, trust, and cooperation in Central Europe are making an effective contribution to promoting the positive trends in the international developments as well as peace and disarmament in the world.

We wholeheartedly wish you, esteemed Comrades, all Communists, and all CSSR people new successes in building socialism as well as good health, creative energy, and personal well-being.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

Polish Teachers Pay Friendship Visit 24 Aug

AU2908131089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Aug 89 p 2

[ND report: "Polish Teachers Arrive for Friendship Visit"]

[Excerpt] Rostock (ND)—On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II, 190 Polish teachers—arrived in Rostock on two school ships of the Polish Navy on Thursday [24 August]. They are on a journey of friendship, which is regularly organized by the Polish teachers' trade union to various countries. [passage omitted]

Officials Attend Romanian Celebrations 23 Aug

AU2808203589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Aug 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Romanian People Celebrated National Day"]

[Excerpts] Bucharest—The celebrations marking the 45th anniversary of the revolution of the social and national, antifascist, and anti-imperialist liberation of Romania culminated on Wednesday [23 August] in a demonstration by hundreds of thousands of working people from the Romanian capital and from the districts of the country. [passage omitted]

Numerous delegations from partner areas abroad participated in the celebrations in the various districts, including a delegation to Gorj from Cottbus headed by Werner Walde, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, first secretary of the SED bezirk leadership; as well as deputies from Gera in Timis, deputies from Karl-Marx-Stadt in Bacau, and deputies from Magdeburg in Prahova. [passage omitted]

Syrian Grand Mufti Visits, Discusses Disarmament

AU2908105089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Syrian Grand Mufti Conducted Talks in the GDR"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Wednesday [23 August], Gerald Goetting, president of the League for Friendship Among Peoples and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, received Shayk Ahmed Kaftarou, grand mufti of the Syrian Arab Republic, for friendly talks. The highest Islamic dignitary of Syria, who had repeatedly paid friendly visits to the GDR, was briefed in detail by Gerald Goetting on the recent GDR initiatives for securing peace, further progress in the field of disarmament, creating an atmosphere of mutual trust, and detente. Of particular interest to the guest were the results of the consultations of the International Liaison Office for nuclear-free zones between 27 and 28 June 1989, since Shayk Kaftarou participated in the international meeting on nuclear-free zones held last year in Berlin.

Shayk Kaftarou praised the GDR's steps toward disarmament also in the field of conventional weapons, which clearly emphasize the GDR's readiness to create a favorable atmosphere for the current Vienna talks through unilateral measures. He explained his ideas of shaping cooperation between the believers of different confessions in the struggle for preserving peace and all of creation. Based on their faith, Muslims and Christians have a great responsibility and duty in this respect, he stated.

Cooperation Agreement With Tanzania Signed

AU2908154489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR and Tanzania Agree on Working Plan"]

[Text] Daressalam (ADN)—A working plan on cultural and scientific cooperation from 1989-91 was signed by Ashour Ali Abbas, state secretary in the Foreign Ministry of the United Republic of Tanzania, and GDR Ambassador Dr Wolf Schunke in Daressalam on Saturday [26 August]. State Secretary Abbas paid tribute to the friendly relations and traditional cooperation between the two states in the fields of education, health, art, and culture. At the same time, he thanked the GDR for its solidarity and wished the GDR people further successes in building socialism in the 40th year of its existence.

Tisch Receives Japanese TU Delegation, Talk

AU3008090689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Work for Peace and Disarmament Is the Most Important Representation of Interests"]

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—On Monday [28 August] Harry Tisch, chairman of the Central Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, received a delegation of the General Council of the Japanese Trade Unions (Sohyo), headed by its president, Takeshi Kurokawa.

In the open-minded exchange of views, the work of the two trade union federations in representing the working people's interests, their attitudes, and their practical approach to international problems, as well as questions of trade union dialogue and bilateral relations between the two organizations were discussed. The interlocutors expressed their satisfaction on the emerging possibilities of making a transition from a senseless and dangerous military confrontation to peaceful cooperation of states. It is necessary to speedily advance on the path of nuclear and conventional disarmament and not to permit any break.

In view of the forthcoming 50th anniversary of World War II caused by fascist Hitler Germany and the recently increasing activities of neo-Nazi forces in a number of capitalist states, the FDGB and Sohyo affirmed their joint demand, which was made as early as when they established relations in 1956, to do everything so that war will never again start from German or Japanese soil. The work for peace, disarmament, and cooperation is and remains the most important task of the trade unions' representation of interests.

Harry Tisch gave his guests an overview of the active contribution of the FDGB to the further strengthening of socialism in the GDR. Despite increasing attacks by Western forces, particularly the actions by FRG politicians and the frontline reports by the mass media which are a gross interference in the GDR's internal affairs and a violation of international law, the GDR will continue its path toward safeguarding peace and will continue to advocate cooperation on the basis of peaceful coexistence and existing treaties, Harry Tisch stressed. [passage omitted]

Harry Tisch and Takeshi Kurokawa expressed their conviction that the relations between the trade union organizations of the GDR and Japan will continue to develop in the future.

FDGB Issues Statement on World Peace Day

AU2908115589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Aug 89 p 1

["Statement by the FDGB Central Executive Council on World Peace Day and on the Trade Unions' Action Day for Peace: 'To Do Everything To Preserve Peace'"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The Central Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] has issued the following statement on this year's World Peace Day and the trade unions' action day for peace:

One September 1989 is the 50th anniversary of the day when fascist Hitler Germany unleashed World War II, the most terrible war in mankind's history.

On this occasion, the FDGB affirms its willingness to do everything to preserve peace and to safeguard mankind's future. We again assure the world's working people that we will ensure that war never again starts on German soil and that we will live up to our responsibility toward the peoples and history.

Since the founding of the FDGB, these goals have determined our actions and we are implementing them at present through the great commitment of the working people to shaping their socialist homeland, in particular in the initiative "My workplace is my combat station for peace."

By working the peace shifts, which have already become traditional in our country, the trade unionists express the fact that successfully developing socialism in the GDR is an important guarantee for the preservation of peace in the heart of Europe.

The FDGB members welcome and support with all their strength the varied peace initiatives of the socialist states. They note with satisfaction the NATO States' first positive responses to the continuation of the initiated disarmament process.

At the same time however, they express their concern about the activities of the most aggressive circles of imperialism to torpedo and eliminate the results that have already been achieved in disarmament. They follow

with concern the development and the reemergence of neo-Nazi forces in a number of capitalist states, particularly the FRG.

Therefore, we call upon all working people and trade unionists in Europe to cooperate in doing everything to stop this movement of ultrareactionaries and to save our children from new fascist terror and misery.

In order to come closer to the joint goal of freeing the world from nuclear weapons by the year 2000 and to decisively banish the danger of war, we must not permit any stop in the disarmament negotiations.

Therefore, we call for halving strategic offensive weapons while adhering to the ABM Treaty; for a comprehensive halt to nuclear testing; for the elimination of all chemical weapons; for negotiations on the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, if possible with the goal of a third zero-option; as well as for steps toward conventional disarmament.

A war in today's nuclear age would be a disaster. It would mean the end of any human civilization. Therefore, the working people and their trade unions, who have had to make the biggest sacrifices during the war and the arms build-up, must not slacken for a single moment in their struggle for peace and disarmament.

We call for using the resources freed by disarmament in the interest of the working people to solve social problems, such as the elimination of hunger and underdevelopment in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America; the elimination of mass unemployment; as well as the enforcement of specific steps to convert arms production to civilian production.

Independent of ideologies, denominations, and membership in international organizations, we call for uniting all our efforts in the interest of preserving peace, so that the trade unionists can make their voices heard even more strongly and energetically in the large choir of the world peace movement.

Air Connections to Leipzig Improved During Fair

AU2908164589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Direct Flights to Leipzig Fair"]

[Text] East Berlin—Along with 10 other international air carriers, Interflug will take care of air transport to the Leipzig Fall Fair between 2-10 September 1989. The air carriers Interflug (GDR), Aeroflot (USSR), Air France (France), British Airways (Great Britain), Finnair (Finland), Jat (Yugoslavia), KLM (Netherlands), Lufthansa (FRG), Malev (Hungary), SAS (Scandinavia), and Swissair (Switzerland) will link Leipzig with 22 European cities. There are direct flights to Amsterdam, Athens, Belgrade, Brussels, Budapest, Copenhagen, Dusseldorf, Frankfurt/Main, Hamburg, Helsinki, Leningrad, London, Milan, Moscow, Munich, Paris, Stuttgart, Vienna, Zagreb, Zurich, Nuremberg, Paderborn, and additional places.

During the fair Interflug will open an additional information and ticket desk in hall 16.

Lecture Argues Benefits of Socialism in GDR

AU3008090889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26-27 Aug 89 p 3

["From a Lecture Before Civics Teachers at the 'Karl Marx' Party College attached to the SED Central Committee" by Prorector Wolfgang Schneider: "On Science and Practice of Socialism"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] One of the experiences of our communist movement is that socialism can develop and gain ground as a theory and a practical concept only in the conflict with the forces of the old world. There has never been and there never will be any development of socialism that is free of struggle and conflict.

If one proceeds from the nature and the historical place of socialism, this is completely understandable, because scientific socialism is not one of the hundreds of doctrines of salvation to "improve" the world of the exploiters. Scientific socialism fundamentally calls into question the old world of private ownership of producer goods, of exploitation, and of social and national oppression. Not only that. With scientific precision it proves the necessity, the nature, and the basic requirements of the new world, which is based on liberated work, on peace, and on developing people's wealth. "Socialism," Comrade Erich Honecker stated at the meeting with Erfurt microelectronics workers, "is the only social order in which man can be man, in which human labor and initiative are not abused but become effective for the benefit of the people. This is the truth about the values of our life and our struggle." (Footnote 1) (Erich Honecker: "Whoever Strengthens Socialism Acts for the Benefit of the People"; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 15 August 1989, p 3) And this is why at all costs the bourgeoisie wants to prevent socialism, that is, the working people, from determining the course of history.

In the struggle against socialism, whenever intellectual manipulation proved to be insufficient, the bourgeoisie have never been finicky in expressing their criticism by force of arms, reactionary violence, terror and murder. From the Cologne trial of communists, the bloody terror against the Paris Communards, Bismarck's socialist law, the military intervention of the imperialist powers against the young Soviet Union, the political-diplomatic and economic boycott of the Soviet Union, the treacherous fascist attack with the goal of militarily destroying the bastion of world socialism, to the cold war, the struggle of the imperialist alliance against the course of the socialist revolution on German soil, against the strengthening of the socialist GDR as a firm cornerstone of peace and socialism in Europe, to the border provocation by FRG extremists in Wahlhausen—this is the

balance sheet of the policy of blood and destruction, of political, economic, and ideological aggression of imperialism. Especially today, not a single item of this balance sheet, not a single crime of imperialism must be forgotten.

At present bourgeois ideologists, above all the spokesmen in the FRG mass media, link their baiting campaigns against socialism with a new edition of the all too well-known old statements that communism is finally dead. [passage omitted]

It is increasingly being suggested that the reason for the difficulties and conflicts that have arisen in the socialist countries does not lie exclusively or even primarily in the history of socialism but in the system itself, and thus in the theoretical approach of socialism provided by Marx and Engels. The "failure of Marxism-Leninism," people are rambling, people who are distinguished by intellectual poverty as regards their real knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, is "ultimately of a philosophical nature." (Footnote 3) (STERN, 20 July 1989, No. 30/1989, Hamburg, p 29) And thus we are again involved with the objective laws of socialism and its very nature, which is expressed in the most concentrated way in the fundamentally new position of man in the historical process.

Why is the Marxist theory of socialism so full of life and again proving its worth in the storms of our times? It is so full of life because it always proceeds from the thing that is the essence of human life, work, it reveals the basic social requirements of life, and thus places the decisive basis for the existence and development of mankind at the center of the scientific statements about society. [passage omitted]

The GDR working people, under the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], have always responded both to the newly emerging requirements and also to difficulties with new work initiatives. This method is the application of the materialistic view of history in the political practice of the building of socialism. It becomes fully effective, however, only if the social awareness of responsibility is fully developed, if the working people feel that their work has an effect on the development of their own standard of living, if they consider the matters of the state as their own. Progress in socialism and for socialism always has its origins in production. It is on this basis that the conditions of exchange, distribution, and consumption are being developed. The relationship toward work is always at the center of the socialist way of thinking and acting. [passage omitted]

In looking for new ways to strengthen socialism, the most profoundly democratic nature of our socialist society has again stood its test. The SED leadership, comprehensively analyzed the situation, consulted with the party members, continuously discussed matters with the friendly parties of our country, the trade unions, the Free German Youth and its mass organizations, and marshalled the entire collective treasure of experiences of the party and the people.

Proceeding from the historical achievements, which the workers class and all working people had struggled for under the leadership of the SED, it was possible to set the goal "of continuing to shape the socialist developed society in the GDR and thus establishing the basic conditions for the gradual transition to communism" for the coming period. (Footnote 6) (SED Program, Berlin 1976, p 9) Thus, fundamental changes and reforms were introduced. A new development started, which is characterized by continuity, renewal, and dynamism. [passage omitted]

In the social strategy of the Eighth SED Congress Lenin's insights about socialism were used. Lenin's concept of socialism is concentrated in the statement: Only socialism is able "to comprehensively spread social production and the distribution of goods in line with scientific considerations and to master this correctly on the basis of making the life of all working people as easy as possible and giving them a life in prosperity. Only socialism can realize this. And we know that it has to realize this." Lenin saw "the entire difficulty of Marxism and its entire strength" in "understanding this truth." (Footnote 9) (V. I. Lenin: "Speech at the First All-Russian Congress of National Economic Councils, 26 May 1918." In: "Works," Vol 27, p 408)

"Recommendations" That Mean the Restoration of Capitalism

The period of creating the developed socialist society is precisely that period in which this "entire difficulty" has to be fully mastered and in which this "entire strength" of Marxism-Leninism has to be fully developed. Because during this period the meaning of socialism—to promote the welfare of the working people in the most comprehensive sense, to provide wide scope for the development and formation of socialist personalities—becomes the center of all our considerations and efforts in a very direct way and much more strongly than was possible in the past. Thus, the course of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy logically became the core of the social strategy, which, with the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and the seventh and eighth Central Committee sessions, we continue to consistently implement for the benefit of the people .

So, what should one think of recommendations that, under the flag of the "renewal" of socialism in the GDR, seek to pave the way for the restoration of capitalism? The forces that are aiming to eliminate socialism in the GDR and that want to achieve a transformation of socialism to capitalism are objectively trying to call into question the results of World War II and of the socialist revolution on German soil, to eliminate socialism, and to continue the course of confrontation. This is the political goal of the truly unholy alliance, which reaches

from the call "Away with the Wall" to the social democratic ideologists who consider bourgeois pluralism a suitable means for reforming socialism in the GDR by turning it into capitalism and who, in this process, abuse socialist slogans in a demagogic manner.

What are the ideological bases and the sociopolitical guidelines of those who propose that we adopt bourgeois pluralism and the so-called market economy?

Under the cover of pluralism, the political power of the workers class is to be divided and put up for sale. The socialist planned economy is to be gradually eliminated by the requirements of the spontaneously operating market-competition mechanism. The party can be only one political force alongside others, it has to renounce its leading role, and to give up its character as an ideological party, they say.

Antagonistic Contradiction of Social Systems

Bourgeois ideologists are putting their hopes in a so-called "asymmetrical convergence," "a unilateral approach of real socialism" to capitalism. Recently one could read in the RHEINISCHE MERKUR that by taking over advanced science and technology products, which are developed in capitalism, socialism "will also take over the Western structures and institutions in which these products are manufactured." This is shrouded in the concept of a "mixed society." In these "mixed societies" two social systems—social ownership and private ownership of producer goods—are to exist, but only one goal of production, that of capitalism—profit—and thus the laws of the capitalist market economy are to be effective. In principle, the bourgeois ideologists are not interested in a convergence of the systems but in finding a promising way to return the existing socialism to capitalism.

There is an irreconcilable, an antagonistic contradiction between socialism and capitalism. Therefore, a symbiosis of the two systems in a new socialist system is absolutely impossible. This is one of the basic theoretical questions in today's debate.

Agriculture Officials Send Letter to Honecker

AU2908114489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26-27 Aug 89 p 1

[Letter from Bruno Lietz, minister of agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry; Fritz Dallmann, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association; and Horst Zimmermann, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Agriculture, Foodstuffs, and Forestry Trade Union, to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council: "New Ideas and Deeds for Fulfilling and Overfulfilling the Plan"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Erich Honecker,

On behalf of 656,000 cooperative peasants and 266,000 workers in agriculture, we report to you that the grain harvest has been carried out successfully in the year of the 40th anniversary of the GDR. More than 10.9 million tonnes of grain were harvested the average per-hectare yield amounts to 43.8 decitonnes.

In view of last year's water shortage and the prolonged drought this year, this is a remarkable result and a great political success. It became possible because the agricultural and alliance policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and of our socialist state is correct and because the cooperative peasants and workers of agriculture let themselves be inspired by your programmatic speech at the seventh Central Committee session and have made it their action program for the preparation of the 12th SED Congress.

They used all their strength to deepen the unity of science and practical peasants' work, to take into consideration the experiences gained in 1988 through a high quality of work, and they developed comprehensive initiatives, which kept the effects of drought and heat in check. In this process, the brigades of the Free German Youth have done exemplary work in many kreises.

Filled with optimism, the cooperative peasants and workers of the GDR's socialist agriculture will develop new ideas and new energy despite all difficulties and in firm alliance with the SED and our socialist state so that the national economic plan will be fulfilled and purposefully overfulfilled. This includes the fact that for the first time more than 1 million hectares were cultivated with summer catch crops in order to improve the fodder basis for our livestock, which had been reduced by the drought. In addition, there are varied efforts to tap further fodder reserves and to ensure the planned performances in livestock production. In plant production it is now necessary to harvest vegetables, fruit, and root crops and to carry out fall cultivation in good quality.

The cooperative peasants and workers are thoroughly discussing the plan for the year of the 12th SED Congress and their contribution to the unity of economic and social policy and to our state's national income. Inspired by the example of the German and Sorb peasants of Bautzen Kreis, they are working out, together with agricultural scientists, their initiative programs for the period through 1995, the main goal of which is to exploit the natural yield potential of the plants and the performance potential of the animals in a considerably better way than to date.

In this way the cooperative peasants and workers in agriculture make sure that the tested agricultural and alliance policy in the unity of continuity and renewal will continue to be implemented successfully.

With socialist greetings,

Bruno Lietz, minister of agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry;

Fritz Dallmann, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association;

Horst Zimmermann, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Agriculture, Foodstuffs, and Forestry Trade Union.

Grain Harvest Results Show 'Good Quality'

AU2908111789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26-27 Aug 89 p 1

[ND report: "Grain Harvest Successfully Concluded"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—The grain harvest has ended in the GDR—apart from small areas in higher regions in the southern bezirks, where grain ripens later because of climatic conditions. In the 40th year of the GDR's existence, the cooperative peasants and workers of agriculture harvested almost 11 million tonnes of grain. This corresponds to an average yield per hectare of 43.8 decitonnes and is a remarkable result in view of the prolonged drought. During the grain harvest, the alliance of the workers class with the class of the cooperative peasants and the cooperation of the entire village again stood their test. Now the peasants and workers are directing their efforts at the quick, low-waste harvest of root crops, vegetables, fruit, and fodder crops, as well as at fall cultivation in good quality. And they are discussing their plan projects for the year of the 12th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

Development of Grain Production

	per-hectare yield in decitonnes	total yield in kilotonnes
1981-85	41.3	10,388
	annual average	
1986	46.4	11,662
1987	45.6	11,224
1988	40.8	10,025
1989	43.8	10,900
	estimated results	

Berlin Court Sentences Breitfeld Gang Member

AU2808105789 East Berlin NEUES DEUSCHLAND in German 24 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Agent of the Criminal Breitfeld Gang Sentenced"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On 23 August 1989, the Berlin City Court sentenced Berlin (West) inhabitant Stefan Nork to 6 years in prison for crimes according to Penal Code Section 105. The car that was used for the crime, a "Golf" with license plate B-CE 9805, was impounded. At the main trial it was proved that Nork permitted himself to be hired by the head of the notorious criminal Breitfeld gang for the purpose of earning money by criminal means and participated in the organization and committing of crimes against the GDR.

Nyers, Grosz Meet U.S. Congressman Lantos

LD2908163889 Budapest MTI in English 1506 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 29 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary, met U.S. Congressman Tom Lantos at the Central Committee headquarters on Tuesday.

Talks were held on possibilities for the development of Hungarian-U.S. relations. The meeting was attended by Mark Palmer, ambassador of the United States of America to Hungary.

Further Reportage on Issue of Prague Detainees

Detainees Fined, Expelled

LD2908170189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Correspondent Evelyn Forro report from Prague]

[Excerpt] Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi are released. The No. 1 District Court of Prague has declared them guilty and fined them Kcs 5,000 each. They were expelled from the country immediately. They will arrive home tonight on a MALEV flight. [passage omitted]

CSSR Embassy Demonstration Ends

LD2908205989 Budapest MTI in English 1837 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 29 (MTI)—The Hungarian young people who have been on a sit-in and hunger strike before the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest for a week finished their demonstration on Tuesday. At a few minutes to six, the Czechoslovak consul came outside the building to tell the demonstrators of the sentence passed by the Prague court in the case of Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi. (As reported, they were fined 5,000 crowns each and expelled from Czechoslovakia.) The announcement drew a huge applause from the people. Monika Vigh, member of the FIDESZ [Democratic Federation of Hungarian Youth] board, said they were to launch a campaign called 'give a crown' to collect the money to pay the fine of the two Hungarian youths. They plan to collect 2 forints and 20 fillers from every willing Hungarian citizen at various points of Budapest.

Detainees Home; Oszi Comments

LD3008103689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi, the two Hungarian young men deported from Czechoslovakia, have arrived home. As a result, the sit-in and hunger strike in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest has ended. Istvan Oszi, deputy minister of foreign affairs, has given an statement to the morning broadcast of Kossuth Radio as well. This is what he said about the decision in Prague in reply to questions from Dezsoe Pinter.

[Begin recording] [Oszi] I am glad and in a certain sense I am sad too about the decision. I am glad that they have been freed and that they have left Prague. I am sad that in the end the court decided that they were guilty.

[Pinter] In your view, to what extent did the Czechoslovak authorities in the court decision take into account the Hungarian protests?

[Oszi] We have tried throughout to exhibit self-control, to make use of all the tools offered by diplomacy to achieve in the end their release. I think that the Czech authorities particularly took it into account when they pointed out that the stand taken against the two Hungarian youngsters had a certain discriminative character for it was only these two who were taken to court. I also think that they took into account that the measures taken against them were not in proportion with the act they had committed.

[Pinter] In your view, what are the lessons of this affair?

[Oszi] I think that this case carries lessons for all sides involved. For youngsters traveling to Prague, it demonstrates that it is worth considering whether this is the best means for them to voice their views, while for the two ministries, the case holds the lesson that out of such affairs one must not create an 'event' that can harm international relations, and the political atmosphere. It is a lesson to the two ministries too, to the extent that the other foreign ministry much react to a political step with political means. [end recording]

Cooperation Body With CSSR Issues Statement

LD2908171489 Budapest MTI in English 1534 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 29 (MTI)—The Hungarian democratic forum has been in contact with the Czech civil rights movement Demokraticka Iniciativa (Democratic Initiative) since the summer of 1988. Bohumil Dolezal, a spokesman for the movement, attended last year's environmental forum in Esztergom, and representatives of the two organizations met in Prague on August 26 this year.

A statement on the first meeting of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak cooperation committee says that the committee is starting work amid rapidly worsening relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary. The reason behind is a different judgement of the current East and central European processes, mainly democracy, and political and economic pluralism.

All this encourages the two countries' democratic forces to step up efforts to alter the situation and work for the improvement of bilateral ties. In our view, the cooperation of democratic forces is one of the most important factors of Hungarian-Czechoslovak friendship. A basic

condition of cooperation is for the two governments to observe the Helsinki accords and the Vienna Final Act. Therefore, political prisoners should be freed, including the two Hungarian citizens imprisoned in Czechoslovakia.

Towards improvement of relations between Hungary and Czechoslovakia, a chance of participation in the committee's work to further independent groups and official organizations is offered. To mark the Czechoslovak National Day of October 28, 1989, the Czechoslovak-Hungarian cooperation committee is to devote its Prague session to issues of reconciliation and cooperation, the statement says.

Ministry Official Denies Agreement With FRG

LD3008105589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Our duty international political editor, Istvan Kulcsar, has asked for information from the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the news arriving from Bonn [concerning the FRG Government's deliberation about the refugee question and the report by ABENDZEITUNG].

[Begin recording] [Kulcsar] According to the information in the Munich-based ABENDZEITUNG, 15,000 GDR citizens are expected from Hungary by the weekend, ie. that they will be allowed to leave from here. According to another reference in the paper, beginning 1 September, the compulsory visa requirement between Hungary and the FRG will be abolished. What can Andras Gulyas, head of the Main Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, say to this?

[Gulyas] In connection with both questions I can only say that Hungary has concluded no such agreements either with the GDR or the FRG.

[Kulcsar] Can we interpret this to mean that you deny the news?

[Gulyas] Yes. [end recording]

Daily Welcomes Election of New Polish Premier

AU3008132289 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Aug 89 p 1

[Editorial by Edit S. Molnar: "The Polish Ship"]

[Text] The Polish Sejm has elected Solidarity's Tadeusz Mazowiecki as Polish premier with a great majority. "Historic" was the most frequent and most modest attribute used in the world press in connection with this event, because, for the first time in half a century, a noncommunist politician has been elected as premier of a socialist country. President Bush's remark covers a broader aspect: He spoke of a "remarkable period in Eastern Europe." Mazowiecki himself called his future government based on a wide coalition a temporary government or perhaps even a short-lived one, and stressed that people should not count on a sudden change in the catastrophic economic situation. According to Mazowiecki, the first task is to halt inflation and create a market economy. The government should deal with the creation of legal, political, and social conditions and with cleaning the economy of ideology, rather than with organizing and guiding production. Mazowiecki added that he wished to be the prime minister of all Polish people, but, because the reform-hungry economy could occasionally also lead to an explosion, he did not exclude the possibility of authoritarian steps if necessary.

Prior, during, and after the premier election, no less attention has been directed to the declarations of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]: How will it react to the actual loss of its leading role? The PZPR group in the Sejm published its proposal on the eve of the election: The Sejm should discard the article about the leading role of the party from the constitution. Following the announcement of this elegant and tactical solution, Orzechowski, the head of the Communist faction in the Sejm, offered a constructive cooperation and urged all the political forces to transcend their own specific interests. Walesa's statement seemed almost an answer: "Only cooperation between parties can help Poland." Mazowieski was more specific than that when he said his government was open to the PZPR too, and added that he was holding negotiations about the nature of his cabinet and not about positions and persons. In addition to defense and the interior, the PZPR will also receive important ministries. According to Mazowieski, the PZPR will have an influence in cabinet work commensurate with its responsibility.

Economic crisis and the political conditions to solve it—these are familiar problems. For us, who follow our Polish friends not only with interest but also as great fans, the things that we have recently heard, including the new premier's statement, have a calming effect: The Poles will fulfill their international obligations. The world, including Europe, is interested in Poland's stability, or, as Mazowiecki put it: "in preventing the sinking of Poland's ship."

Miners Union Chief on Protesters Demands

LD3008132589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0400 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Summary] Miners in Pecs are preparing to hold a demonstration today, Ernoe Kardos reports:

The demonstrating miners will carry banners with such words as: "We need jobs, not aid;" and: "No need for coal or uranium? How will we heat the day after tomorrow?" Which demand does Laszlo Kovacs, secretary general of the Miners' Trade Union, support, the demand for jobs, or the demand for a complex government program?

[Kovacs] Before everything, we demand, we ask for secure jobs for the entire mining industry, including the uranimum miners, as well as the coal miners in Pecs.

[Kardos] Do I understand correctly that the union does not protest the end of uranium mining butonly wants a complex and gradual plan for it?

[Kovacs] There is a valid agreement with the USSR until 1992. As far as I know, the USSR has said that it can do without the Pecs uranium, but still is able to provide the fuel rods for the Paks nuclear power station. However, already today Hungary imports more than 50 percent of its energy needs and having these come from only one direction is a very great risk for the national economy. Regarding claims that loss-making mining, like other operations, must be stopped, I say that there is no scientifically well-founded, planned energy program in Hungary today, nor is there a proper price structure: the market is not working. Although there is no legal institution that could provide for our requests, our 11 points demand the assurance of secure jobs, security of existence, retraining possibilities, and for those for whom these are inapplicable, a lump-sum final payment.

MSZMP Reform Circles Hold National Conference

LD2908154189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] [Presenter] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] reform circles are holding a national conference at the weekend. Istvan Szello reports from the press conference they held today:

[Szello] For the MSZMP reform circles, the key question is: in what form will a new socialist party come about? In their opinion, a satisfactory dialogue has still not developed between the so-called reform elite and the reform circles. The MSZMP reform circles will hold their second national conference on 2-3 September in Budapest and this will be a main subject.

Jozsef Greczi and Zoltan Szabo, members of the conference Preparatory Committee, answered a few questions I had. They emphasized that a unified stance on the date of electing the president of the Republic has not yet been formed. However, they would like to achieve this within a democratic, socialist current, but according to the majority the election should take place before the National Assembly elections. They would like a fundamentally strong institution of the president of the Republic, and the president of the Republic could have the power, if he thought it necessary, to dissolve parliament, to dismiss the government, and to appoint the premier.

Party organizations have no place in the workplaces, the MSZMP reform circles say. Here there should be enterprise self-management, and naturally workers' councils and trade unions, formed for this purpose.

They gave their opinion on the MSZMP "Next 2000" limited company too. According to this, until there is an inventory of assets, they should not go into such activities. The MSZMP has not given an account, before the nation, or even before party members. And elections cannot be won through money which is acquired in this way; anyway it is not money that could win them the election. This, in any case is impermissible, and gives rise to the possibility for further provocations against the party, the representatives of the reform circles emphasized.

[Presenter] Our colleague has just arrived back in the studio, so he can update his earlier account.

[Szello] They would like a party which will be a determining force among the others, in the Hungary of the future. They would like the MSZMP to be renewed at the October party congress, or even formed into a new party.

People who are not burdened by the crimes of the past, and who could represent their party in a credible way before the nation, are those who should be in the leadership.

To the question of whether the reform circles are preparing a party split, the answer was an unequivocal no, for with that, they said, they would lose the confidence of the Hungarian people. The MSZMP reform circles do not exclude either the possibility that despite this, conservative forces will gain superiority at the congress. In this case, these reform circles and their members will leave the MSZMP.

They also said that in the interest of credibility, they would like the opposition parties to also have a clear picture of their activity. Therefore they have invited them to the conference commencing on 2 September.

Company Registration Rejected

LD2908154589 Budapest MTI in English 1306 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 29, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—The news, first disclosed by a leader of the Association of Free Democrats, that the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] has founded a one-man company called Next 2000 Ltd. to take charge of 1.162 billion forints' (19.4 million) worth of party property has created a considerable stir and prompted the HSWP to call a press conference on Monday to explain the situation. A party spokesman said that the valuable party holiday homes will remain the property of the state, and only the operating rights are to be delegated to the limited company.

However, even this has met with disapproval of the Budapest Court of Registration which has rejected Next 2000's request for the operating rights to the holiday homes.

The original application for registration of Next 2000 had put the starting equity at 2.9 million forints (48,300 dollars), with 1.9 million coming in cash and the rest in computers.

As the application form was incomplete the judge returned it for amendment. The request that the company should have the right to operate the holiday homes has come since, and in accordance with the relevant regulations, the Court of Registration has declined to register the company on the new terms and registered it under the terms of the original application since under present law a public organization can only cede the right to use state property to another public or state organization.

The property of the ruling party became state property in 1977.

In view of the publicity the matter has aroused, the Court of Registration may ask the media to correct earlier inaccurate reports concerning the condition of registration of Next 2000 Ltd.

Want Unified Party

LD2908171689 Budapest MTI in English 1617 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 29 (MTI)—The HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] reform circles want a unified party which casts off its past and serves the cause of radical reforms with its programme and operation. This is the only chance for the party to responsibly face the nation and seek the confidence of the Hungarian people during democratic elections, it was stated at a press conference given in Budapest on Tuesday in anticipation of the national conference of the HSWP reform circles convened for September 2-3.

Jozsef Varga, head of the press bureau of the conference, said the advocates of reforms have always been present in the HSWP, but they were unable to move into the forefront in the Stalinist party structure, even in its tamed Kadarian version. Such endeavours were condemned as revisionism and anti-party conduct, and elicited tough retaliation. Under the impact of the negative phenomena of the past decade, reform-minded attitudes have been gathering momentum. The party membership have found its scope for action in the reform circles.

Mr Varga set as the aim of the national conference not only the discussion and adoption of a comprehensive reform platform, but also the answers to all questions of social concern that have to be faced by the HSWP congress. The reform circles wish to see the HSWP renewed or transformed into a new party, on the basis of radical reform ideas, Mr Varga said.

Mr Varga said that the people required in the party leadership should be free of responsibility for past errors and crimes, and able to represent the party in the eyes of the entire nation. He admitted that several party members do not agree with the views of the reform circles. He did not rule out the possibility for the party's conservative forces to gain the upper hand at the congress. He said it was a generally held view that the party members rallied around the reform circles will not be members of that party.

Finally, Mr Varga said that representatives of the other HSWP platforms and democratic organizations have also been invited to the national conference. On the eve of the first day of the conference a toast will be raised by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, and the Sunday rally addressed by HSWP President Rezso Nyers and Imre Pozsgay, member of the Presidium.

Answering questions, Mr Varga pointed out that should the HSWP reform circle gain ground at the congress, the party will not be called a communist party. In his view, the party would bear resemblance to the modern social-democratic parties and would also be open to radical bourgeois ideas.

It was stated that the survey of the HSWP assets, valued at current prices, should be made with the participation of independent opposition experts, and the document made public. On the authorization of the congress, talks should be started immediately on the socialization of the part of its wealth derived from state benefits. Until a satisfactory settlement of the property issue, all new legal solution and financial transaction will be impermissible, as it against the party's interests. [as received]

Answering a related question of an MTI journalist, it was said that the standpoint of the reform circles is that all arrangements being made for the Next 2000 LTD should be halted without delay. Appraising the agreement passed by the medium level political coordinating talks, it was stated that the withdrawal of the party from the working place has been an old demand of the reform circles, as the establishment of a constitutional state and the dismantling of the party state all require such a step.

It was stated in the course of the weekend meeting, that a confidence vote is to be cast by the delegates on each member of the Central Committee. The outcome of the voting will be made public. The reform circles unanimously want to see a bourgeois civilization emerge along with partial capitalization and the readjustment of Hungarian economy to the world economy. To a question put by the correspondent of the "RUDE PRAVO," they said that they addressed each other as comrade, and should the reform circles win, they would regard the fraternal parties and all left wing forces, as their allies.

Hungarian Red Cross Official on GDR Refugees

AU2908174389 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Aug 89 pp 1,3

[Interview with Rezso Sztuchlik, head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Hungarian Red Cross, by Eszter Legradi: "Additional Camp Planned for GDR Refugees in Leanyfalu—350 New Refugees Daily"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Three hundred and fifty additional GDR citizens came to the reception camp in Csilleberc in the

last 2 days. The Csilleberc camp is run by the Red Cross and the Charity Service of the Order of Malta. With these additional people, the number of GDR refugees in this camp exceeded 800. There are also more than 600 refugees in the camp on Gabor Szarvas Road in Buda. The Csilleberc camp will soon be full and, therefore, the Red Cross is negotiating the opening of a new camp in Leanyfalu.

[Legradi] Are you prepared in terms of adequate assistance if the number of GDR refugees increases?

[Sztuchlik] There are about 150,000-200,000 GDR tourists in Hungary, but nobody could tell how many people decide not to return home. A day after the closure of the FRG Embassy and Consulate, we distributed 180 portions of food every day to the GDR refugees camping on Sandor Nogradi Street. Since then, with the Charity Service of the Order of Malta and the FRG Red Cross, we have been regularly assisting almost 1,500 GDR citizens seeking refuge. [passage omitted]

[Legradi] How much does it cost to support the GDR refugees? What additional expenses will the Red Cross have if new groups arrive?

[Sztuchlik] At the moment, our expenses per refugee reach 300 forints. [passage omitted]

[Legradi] What is your prognosis concerning the GDR refugees?

[Sztuchlik] In my view, a principled solution to the problem will come only when the Hungarian authorities deal with the arrival or departure of every foreign citizen on the basis of Hungarian law. According to this, only the attempt by the GDR citizens to cross the border at a nonofficial border-crossing point is a border-crossing violation. If they try to cross the border at the official border-crossing points, according to Hungarian law, this is not a border-crossing violation. By doing this, they only violate the law of their own country, the GDR, and observing the GDR laws is not our affair, but that of the GDR. [passage omitted]

Defense Official Rejects Military Coup Threat

LD2508214289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] We are also capable of a military takeover of power in the interest of defending the ruling power of the workers. This was the assertion on the pages of MAI NAP by Sandor Petres, leader of the organization calling itself the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Workers. Peter Szerenyi phoned Gyorgy Keleti, press director of the Defense Ministry.

[Begin recording] [Keleti] We were shocked at this news, that is this article, for we do not know what army they have which is capable of a military takeover of power. The Hungarian People's Army totally dissociates itself from this statement, from the organization. We trust that they do not have weapons, and guarantee that they will not have them.

[Szerenyi] Sandor Petres claims that national party leaders can also be found among the members of his party.

[Keleti] Yes, but it is funny that he is not prepared to name them. I, however, can name those miltary leaders, first and foremost Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, defense minister, who distance themselves from this statement and continue to maintain the opinion that this army believes solely in a peaceful transition, and that the reform processes can be envisaged exclusively by political means and not by violent means.

[Szerenyi] How seriously do you take this kind of article or statement? For this was news to you too.

[Keleti] Unfortunately, we are forced to take them seriously, for public opinion reads this and the news can surface again and again that we are against the reform and that we wish to impede this with weapons or violence.

[Szerenyi] What do you mean by taking it seriously.

[Keleti] It is unfortunate that we have to prove that in this country, on the part of the army, there is no chance at all of any kind of military takeover.

[Szerenyi] In your opinion, against whom or in whose interest could this organizaton take over power through military means?

[Keleti] I do not know. It is my conviction that they have no foundation, no kind of background on the basis of which they could make such an irresponsible statement.

[Szerenyi] So, in your opinion, there is no military force in Hungary today which would give assistance to a military rollback.

[Keleti] No, there is not. There is one sole military force which is prepared for the defense of our sovereignty, in accordance with national interests.

[Szerenyi] This is the Hungarian People's Army?

[Keleti] This is the Hungarian People's Army?

[Szerenyi] And the Workers Guard?

[Keleti] Permit me not to speak about this, for you surely know that the Council of Ministers has asked a committee, which is led by the defense minister, to examine what role could be given to the Workers Guard in the future, so that it would be integrated in the Hungarian Defense force.

[Szerenyi] I ask this, for it is conceivable that Sandor Petres was hinting at them when he says that several party leaders are members of the organization.

[Keleti] I do not know. This is why we should talk in concrete terms with Sandor Petres, to find out what he was thinking of, and state that he should not make irresponsible statements without saying what there is behind them. [end recording]

Democratic Forum Delegates Meet Romanians

LD2508213189 Budapest MTI in English 2013 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 25 (MTI)—The Board of the Democratic Fedration of Romanians in Hungary held talks with delegates from the National and Minority Committee of the Hungarian Democratic Forum in Gyula on Friday. The Romanian Federation considers the past 40 years of Hungarian minority policy as erroneous, with special regard to the elimination of nationality school education in the 1960s.

The two sides are calling for the nationality law under preparation to provide guarantees for practicising the collective rights of national minorities and ensure political interest representation for Hungary's ethnic minorities in an institutional form. The Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Romanian Federation are to set up a joint committee.

Democratic Forum Petitions to Recall Lakatos

LD2908164689 Budapest MTI in English 1501 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 29 (MTI)—The petition for the recall of Laszlo Lakatos, MP [Member of Parliament] for district 4 of Gyor-Sopron County (first secretary of the HSWP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] county committee) was presented by the local organization of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) to the county election board on Tuesday [29 August].

In early June the MDF organization initiated the recall of Mr Lakatos on the grounds that since his election in 1985 he has been one of the most passive MPs, and had failed to adequately represent his electors' interests and acted witho[illegible]nsulting them. MDF's local organization believes Mr Lakatos does not distinguish between his responsibilities as an MP and first secretary of the HSWP's Gyor-Sopron county committee.

The petition was signed by 2,090 of the 19,727 constituents, which is 10 percent above the required number.

Further From Opposition Roundtable Discussions

Fejti on Political Transition

LD2508123989 Budapest MTI in English 1651 GMT 23 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 23 (MTI)—It is the political system where most changes have taken place since the May, 1988, HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] National Conference, Central Committee Secretry Gyorgy Feti stated in his lecture at the Hungarian Socialist Workers' party open university in Tata on Wednesday [23 August]

Mr Fejti said that the most important endeavour was to set up a model of democratic socialism. In a major break with the practice of previous years, the HSWP today declares that no political force should be allowed to monopolize the people's sovereignty.

In the course of the roundtable talks, the minimum target set on the issue of the political transition and the economic crisis has been attained, he said. Thursday's talks may result in a decision on what can be realized. In this context, Mr Fejti rejected the idea that what was going on during the negotiations was bargaining over the head of the people.

In connection with the major conflicting differences as to the date of the elections, Mr Fejti said that the Hungarian democratic forum would like to bring forward the elections, while the historic parties are calling for them to be organized next spring or in the second half of 1990. He added that financial and international considerations justify the earliest possible date. In his view, people have not yet realized that it is not just a party interest, but a national one, that Hungary have a coalitional government with a stable parliamentary majority, the core of which would be provided by the HSWP, Mr Fejti said.

Pozsgay on Media Body

LD2508220589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] As was reported yesteday at the discussions of the Opposition Roundtable, the three negotiating partners want to establish an impartial five-man information commission for MTI, the radio, and television. Andras Kerekes asked Imre Pozsgay about this.

[Kerekes] I asked Imre Pozsgay, in his capacity as minister of state exercising supervision over Hungarian radio, television and MTI, about the establishment of a commission to supervise the impartiality of these institutions.

[Begin Recording] [Pozsgay] There is nothing much new to say about this; the negotiating delegation put this aside in the series of negotiations. We shall return to it next week. On the other hand, there was general agreement, in my judgement, that this impartiality must be ensured and guaranteed with respect to the functioning of the so-called national institutions. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] is not against this, and the government will presumably accept the general agreement in ensuring this impartiality. The debate is about technical aspects and about how this can be realized. For the transitional period we accept the justification for an institution such as this; when there is a legitimate parliament—I mean when there is a new

parliament based on free elections—it will be the business of the National Assembly to legislate on regulating these institutions.

[Kerekes] Since there is agreement by now on the precise definition of the transitional phase, namely until the newly elected parliament is convened, it is obvious that the authority of this commission would be limited to a few months. In which areas do you consider that the commission would have important tasks to fulfil?

[Pozsgay] First and foremost, ensuring continuous and impartial information about these negotiations. Second, presenting the parties, so that the citizen should be able to choose from among them, in line with their programs, images and goals. Finally, during the election campaign, working out very precisely which party gets how much program time, and making this objectively controllable. [end recording]

Social Welfare Policy Talks

LD2508192289 Budapest MTI in English 1742 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 25 (MTI)—Members of the expert working committee of the political coordination talks, called "the social welfare consequences of the economic crisis, and how to treat them", stated during their August 24 session that they see a new major propelling force in the socialization of democracy, individual and collective initiatives and social welfare policy. They succeeded in drawing up a viable social policy plan.

Representatives of the Opposition Roundtable said they see the main obstacle in the way of attaining social welfare policy aims in the economic lobby, which intends to get the economy back on its feet without paying the proper price for the labour force. At present, social welfare policy is only able to decide from within its own budget which groups of society can pay more and which have to be supported. They stressed that social welfare policy can no longer afford to manage the economy.

The third side (official trade unions, social organizations, patriotic people's front, etc.) complained about the lack of a comprehensive government social welfare policy outline. They called for working out the reform of employment, wage and price policies, and for shaping social policy conditions accordingly.

The HSWP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] delegate said it was particularly important that all participants at the committee's session, irrespective of party affiliation, agree that people with below-average living standards should not fall victim to day-to-day political squabbling.

Marxist Group Criticizes MSZMP Manifesto

LD2508183189 Budapest MTI in English 1705 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 25 (MTI)—The organizers of the HSWP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party/MSZMP] Marxist unity platform held their national conference in Budapest on Wednesday.

The 400 or so participants formulated a stand on two documents a committee, set up at the invitative of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, had prepared. The documents, entitled "Lessons From our Historic Road" and "The HSWP Draft Manifesto", were made public on August 19.

In connection with the debate, Dr Imre Maroti, member of the Executive Committee, said that the lecturers and contributors had criticized the documents for refuting the results of the past 40 years. The manifesto does not toe the Marxist line, it abandons socialism and the demand to represent the workers, and avoids the term "communist". For this reason, participants felt it was unsuitable to serve as a basis for debate during the 14th party congress.

Speaking about international issues, contributors deemed what the young Hungarian people were doing in Prague was tantamount to interference in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia. The government was also criticized for failing to take definite measures in the case of those foreign citizens wishing to leave Hungary for the West. Several participants condemned the August 20 speech in which Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth accused the trade unions of social-welfare demagogy for the strike they staged before the meat price rises.

The organizers of the Marxist unity platform stressed their intention to join hands with other left-wing groups within the HSWP in the struggle to prevent the party leadership from swinging to the right and to safeguard the party's reputation.

'Panorama' Interviews Prague Spring Figures

LD2508182289

[Editorial Report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 1710 GMT on 21 August broadcasts the latest installment of its "Panorama" program, the major part of which is devoted to the 21st anniversary of the Prague Spring. The program intersperses interviews by an unidentified program presented with archive footage of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The program opens with a 6-minute interview with Andramyk Mygranian, a Soviet historian, who discusses the Brezhnev doctrine and how the policy of perestroyka has changed such thinking.

Next comes a 5-minute interview with Vitaliy Korotych, chief editor of the Soviet weekly OGONEK, who gives his personal views on the Prague intervention.

The third interview, 6 minutes in length, is with Alexandr Dubcek, former Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] leader, who outlines the circumstances in which he and his colleages received the news of the Soviet intervention and gives a detailed account of his arrest by Czechoslovak and Russian soldiers at CPCZ Central Committee headquarters. Dubcek sets out his view that Hungary's participation in the invasion was the result of a grave political mistake by Janos Kadar, but states his belief that by disclosing the dark patches of history there is hope for a better future. The interview with the former CPCZ leader is very similar to another Dubcek interview, excerpts of which were broadcast on the "Panorama" program on 17 April 1989, the questions asked being virtually identical.

There follows an 11-minute interview with Ota Sik, who was CSSR deputy prime minister in 1968. Talking about the present political leadership of Czechoslovakia, he says that this leadership does not want reforms, which is no wonder, since the old guard is still in power. They are the ones who helped destroy the Prague Spring and they have put the country's economy back on the old Stalinist rails. After 1968, representatives of the reform ideas were politically liquidated and effectively removed. He would not even like to speculate as to how long would it take for modern economic reforms to have their effects in Czechoslovakia now. According to Sik, the present government is on the side of perestroyka in words only, while waiting all the time for Gorbachev to fall. The stagnation of the economy and the backwardness of the country has increased significantly during the last 20 years, Ota Sik says.

He details the economic reforms intended in 1968 and says that they were the forerunners of perestroyka, but international conditions were not ripe for their realization. He mentions that Ulbricht and Gomulka, who were then leaders of the GDR and Poland, were both strongly against the Czechoslovak reforms. Therefore, both countries urged and welcomed the Soviet intervention. Asked who was personally responsible for calling the Russians in, he can only speculate, but cannot point the finger concretely as to whether it was Jakes, Bilak, Hoffman, or someone else. Sik also gives his personal recollections regarding the circumstances upon hearing the news of the invasion and the different reactions of his Central Committee colleagues. In conclusion, he gives his views on the chances of Gorbachev carrying out his endeavors, saying that Gorbachev must stem the people's dissatisfaction, improve living standards, and tackle the nationality problem. In addition, extensive political reform is needed throughout the apparatus.

The last in the series of interviews, 9 minutes in duration, is with playwright Vaclav Havel. Asked how long the Czechoslovak leadership can resist the winds blowing from Moscow, he reiterates Ota Sik's opinion that they want perestroyka only in words and not in deeds. The reason for this is that the very existence of the present Czechoslovak leadership is due to the Brezhnev doctrine and they are unable to acquire a new, different political attitude other than what they have been practicing for the past 20 years. This is the trap created by power prestige and ideological paralysis.

In Havel's view, the present pseudoglasnost and pseudotransformation will become real change only if the old guard is ousted, although he admits that recent processes in society have resulted in a kind of national awakening and alertness which can only put greater pressure on the present Czech leadership, albeit gradually. These processes naturally are influenced by the changes taking place in Poland and Hungary.

Havel gives his personal view as to what might happen in Czechoslovakia if Gorbachev were to fall, but says he thinks and hopes that things have gone too far now and can be turned back only by a military coup or civil war. He does not know how soon real change can be expected in Czechoslovakia, but he is certain that the Czechoslovak political leadership is at a deadend and it is clear that Czechoslovak society is now at a crossroads.

Government, Trade Unions Discuss Food Prices

LD2508174789 Budapest MTI in English 1602 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 25 (MTI)—A series of discussions was held between government and trade union representatives on Friday over the situation which has evolved since meat prices went up.

The sides established that the appeal to meat-industry companies had been to no avail. Government officials Ferenc Szabo, state secretary at the Ministry of Agriculture, and Ferenc Vissi, state secretary and president of the price office, said it had been a mistake for the trade unions to request the postponement of the price rises announced for August 21. It was pointed out that the setting of free prices is not in the sphere or the government's activity. Setting this year's prices and wages should be discussed at the extraordinary session of the National Interest Coordination Council, in line with the proposal made at the government's Thursday session.

Trade union representatives Laszlo Sandor, secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions, and Laszlo Peszternak, general secretary of the Ironworkers' Trade Union, were in agreement about the necessity for convening the meeting of the National Interest Coordination Council. On the other hand, they proposed that, until comprehensive discussions are begun and agreements reached, the raising of basic food prices should be avoided by everyone concerned. According to the trade union representatives, the government is driven by prestige interests when refusing to agree to this.

Mazowiecki Receives Sejm Deputy Michnik

LD2908202789 Warsaw PAP in English 1915 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received here today Sejm Deputy Adam Michnik.

Mazowiecki Receives Minister of State Czyrek

LD2908203289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of State, has received Minister of State Jozef Czyrek.

Mazowiecki Receives OPZZ Leadership Members

LD2908215989 Warsaw PAP in English 2110 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received here today in the afternoon the authorities of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions [OPZZ] with its chairman Alfred Miodowicz, and deputy chairmen: Wojciech Obarski, Jerzy Uzieblo, Romuald Sosnowski, Stanislaw Bar, Wlodzimierz Lubanski and Waclaw Martyniuk. The talk was attended by Undersecretary of State at the Office of the Council of Ministers Jacek Ambroziak.

After the meeting the OPZZ chairman told PAP in part:

Our presence at the meeting was an expression of respect for the premier and of openness to his concepts and proposals.

The premier informed us about his intentions as well as his problems stating that the most important thing now is time. We will not attack this government on the spot and demand that it solved the problems which we talked about, the problem of housing construction for instance. We liked his statement that the state cannot be a body regulating all matters, it is necessary to develop people's initiatives and support them.

On our part, we wished this government to actually be a government of full term of office, Miodowicz said.

Mazowiecki Receives Europarliament Member

LD2908170489 Warsaw PAP in English 1047 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received British politician—member of the European Parliament Lord Nicholas Bethell today.

Mazowiecki Meets Israeli Ambassador 29 Au?

LD2908203389 Warsaw PAP in English 1839 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received here today head of the Israeli interests section in Poland, Ambassador Mordechai Palzur who conveyed to him congratulations from Israel's Premier Yitzhaq Shamir.

Mazowiecki Attends Jasna Gora Ceremony

LD2608220989 Warsaw PAP in English 2030 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Excerpt] Czestochowa, Aug. 26—Thousands of pilgrims from Poland and abroad took part in religious celebrations at Poland's holiest shrine of Jasna Gora in front of the image of Black Madonna.

The celebrations were attended by members of the Episcopate of Poland, the clergy, representatives of the Conference of FRG Episcopate with Cardinal Franz Hengsbach, bishops from France, pilgrims from Austria, the Soviet Union, Italy, Czechoslovakia.

Poland's Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki was also present and so was FRG Labour Minister Norbert Bluem.

The Holy Mass was celebrated by Krakow Metropolitan Cardinal Franciszek Macharski. The homily was delivered by Poland's primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp.

Deputies Club Chiefs on Mazowiecki Appointment

AU2808153089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Aug 89 p 3

[PAP roundup of speeches by chairmen of deputies clubs at the 24 August Sejm session in Warsaw: "Speaking on Behalf of the Deputies Clubs"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Jozef Wojcik, chairman of the Deputies Club of the Pax Association: Appointing a government of national accord and trust, consisting of the sociopolitical forces represented in parliament, and creating the right conditions for such a government to function efficiently—that is the supreme state and national responsibility today. Society wants not only debates, but also competent governing and the encouragement of hope. The point is also to make a respect for the Polish raison d'etat socially comprehensible and prevent it from being counteracted by other major social or moral interests, as was so often the case in the past. We state categorically that the integrity of national, state, social, and humanitarian needs makes it necessary to closely observe the democratic rules of the game, which imposes on all political forces the requirement to slowly but surely establish a parliamentary democracy. [passage omitted]

It is my pleasure to say that the premier-designate's statement forecasts a sincere recognition of the needs of our times and the possibilities that are appearing before Poland.

Tadeusz Nowacki, chairman of the Deputies Club of the Christian-Social Union: The president's momentous decision to nominate Tadeusz Mazowiecki for premier is opening a great chapter before Poland, a chapter that is

as yet unknown and unfilled. Right now one can only read three words in this chapter, but words that are full of substance—hope, satisfaction, and fear. Hope and satisfaction for everyone, because the nomination to the post of premier of a man outside the party nomenklatura, an activist of the Solidarity opposition who is closely connected with the church, is without precedent in Poland's postwar history. It is a kind of Copernican breakthrough; it has revised concepts which were hitherto regarded as eternal and immutable. We believe this fresh breeze will give us all a chance to effectivelyy solve together the problems of the country, which is enmeshed in chaos and disorder. [passage omitted]

Ahead of the new premier is an enormity of tasks, impossible to fulfill without social confidence. In order to gain it, people must see hopes and guarantees that common efforts and sacrifices will not be in vain.

Stefania Czupala-Hologa, chairman of the Deputies Club of the Polish Catholic-Social Union: It would be monotonous to repeat the political, social, and economic situation our country is in. The government crisis we have all been experiencing is the best proof of this. A ray of hope is provided by the nomination of a premier who does not belong to the political force that has shaped the past 45 years.

Today's speeches are not meant to be an assessment of that political force. However, they do raise hopes for a new beginning. Many words have been spoken in this hall in the past, promising changes for the better. It was often said that a wind of hope was finally blowing. Unfortunately, these changes never materialized. Instead, the situation deteriorated progressively. Today, these hopes are being placed in Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki because of his involvement with that stream of thought which extols a vision of harmony between people on the basis of social justice, love of one's neighbor, and the supremacy of the individual. [passage omitted]

The Polish Catholic-Social Union also respects the candidate for premier by virtue of his ties that bind our union to the Catholic intelligentsia community with which Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki is universally identified. I am happy to be able to say on behalf of my colleagues and myself that the Deputies Club of the Polish Catholic-Social Union will vote for Tadeusz Mazowiecki for the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

Consultations on Forming Government Continue

AU2908125089 Paris AFP in English
1241 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 29 (AFP)—The new Polish Government of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki is unlikely to be announced before Septemer 10, according to press reports Tuesday that said tough negotiations on a "broad coalition" were still underway. The reports said talks are focussing on the distribution of Communists and noncommunists in the first Polish cabinet to be headed by a noncommunist in more than 40 years.

The Foreign Affairs and Information Ministries, in particular, are center of fierce bargaining, according to sources who said control of the critical Information Ministry may ultimately be shared by various political forces.

TRYBUNA LUDU, the Polish Communist Party organ, carried an article—seen as a clear warning to Mr. Mazowiecki—that put forth communist representation within the new cabinet as a priority over the party's role in forthcoming reforms.

No official disclosures were made after Mr. Mazowiecki's successive meetings Monday with the Solidarity leader in parliament, Bronislaw Geremek, Roman Malinowski, head of the United Peasants' Party, and Aleksander Bentkowski, the leader ot the Democratic Party parliamentary group, and finally with Communist Party leaders. But various sources have said a compromise is under consideration that could give the Communists at least four portfolios, including the Defense and Interior Ministries.

It was generally thought these ministries would automatically go to the Communists, following delicate negotiations between Solidarity and the Communists prior to Mr. Mazowiecki's endorsement last week. But an article in the Solidarity paper GAZETA Monday came out against giving the Communists sole control over national security posts.

In another article in TRYBUNA LUDU, Leszek Miller, a secretary in the Polish Communist Party Central Committee, reaffirmed that the Communists were hoping for "the success" of the new government. This followed a statement by General Florian Siwicki, the outgoing communist defense minister, that the Army would act as a "pro-reform" force provided that Poland's membership in the Warsaw Pact was not challenged. He had made the statement at a military graduation ceremony.

In another development, the Warsaw press said that Solidarity leader Lech Walesa would travel to West Germany September 5 to 8 during which time he will meet with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President Richard Von Weizsaecker.

Mr. Walesa, who was invited by the West German union DGB, will also meet with bankers and industrialists as part of his effort to press for Western involvement in Polish reforms notably, by opening up bank branches and starting joint ventures, sources here said.

Dole Presents Walesa Letter to Bush on Aid

LD2908211989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] On their return from a trip to Poland and other countries, Senator Robert Dole, leader of the Republican minority in the Senate, and his wife Elizabeth, who is the labor secretary in the present administration, visited President Bush at his summer residence. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, Senator Dole brought a letter from Lech Walesa for President Bush which presented the President with Walesa's own assessment of the situation and events in our country. The daily points out that the Solidarity leader presented to the President a program for Western economic investment in Poland amounting to $10 billion. Asked whether Poland did not need more than the $119 million for which he had applied to Congress, George Bush replied that to meet the requirements more was probably necessary. He emphasized, however, that the beginning of the process of reforms would ease the task of providing assistance to Poland for international financial institutions.

Gorbachev, Polish Leadership Meeting Possible

LD2808191589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] At a news conference in Moscow, Gennadiy Gerasimov, spokesman of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, was asked whether a meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and the new Polish leadership could be expected. He replied that he knew nothing about such plans, but added: We are, however, neighbors and members of alliances. A meeting cannot thus be ruled out.

Jaruzelski Receives FRG President's Message

LD2908163289 Warsaw PAP in English 1427 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received the ambassadors of the Federal Republic of Germany, Franz Joachim Schoeller, who handed him a message issued by FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker on the 50th anniversary of the German invasion of Poland and the outbreak of World War Two.

Sejm Statement on World War II Anniversary

AU2908142289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Aug 89 p 4

["Statement in Connection With the 50th Anniversary of the Outbreak of World War II" adopted by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic on 24 August]

[Text] Fifty years ago, on 1 September 1939, the armies of the Third Reich invaded the Republic of Poland. This act of German aggression started World War II.

It was the cruelest ordeal in the history of our nation. Six million Polish citizens lost their lives. They fell in battle, perished as victims of extermination, and were put to death in concentration camps and prisons.

On the territory of the Polish state, the German Reich carried out the genocide of Jews from all over Europe in Nazi extermination camps. Poland was almost completely destroyed: National cultural treasures were stolen or obliterated in a barbaric manner. Warsaw was the only European capital that was deliberately razed during the war.

Poland was the only country to wage a struggle against Hitler's Germany from 1 September 1939 until the end of the war without interruption. Realizing the traditional slogan, For your freedom and ours, Poles fought on all the fronts of World War II alongside other peoples threatened by Nazism. During World War II Poland established an underground state that possessed an enormous army.

Poles value the sacrifices and participation in the final victory of all the allied states and peoples and the special role performed by Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States.

Poles have lived as neighbors of the Germans for centuries. We respect the achievements of German culture and civilization. Nazism debased these achievements and destroyed its opponents within the Reich. As a result of the postwar redrawing of borders, many Germans lost the lands where their homes were. They included many innocent people who suffered wrongs and injustices.

However, we state that in accordance with the historical truth and moral principles, a significant majority of the German nation bears responsibility for the crimes committed by the Third Reich.

As a result of the war, Poland recovered an independent existence within new borders recognized by the victorious powers of the anti-Nazi coalition. These borders are permanent and inviolable.

Today, half a century later, we want to turn to the future. While not forgetting anything that is behind us, we want to participate in creating a new Europe. The challenges posed by the war led to the emergence of an effective anti-Nazi coalition. It was successful, despite the great differences that existed among its members. May the challenges posed by today's world give an impetus to concerted action on the part of East and West, of North and South.

Poland is going through a period of profound changes. We are striving to discard the totalitarian legacy of the past. Our efforts lie in the interest of all of Europe and have the support of many countries. Our future success and Poland's strong position as a partner in international relations stemming from this will benefit various states and our closest neighbors above all.

On this special day we want to join with other nations in reflecting on the past and in hoping for a better future.

Draft Senate Resolution on World War II

LD3008134189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1155 GMT 30 Aug 89

["Draft resolution" of the Polish Senate on World War II, read by Senator Szczpiorski; from the live relay of the Polish Senate session on 30 August]

[Text] Fifty years ago, on 1 September 1939, the German aggression against Poland began. World War II became a fact. Several days earlier, on 23 August, the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact was concluded in Moscow, while on 17 September 1939, as the Polish people were dramatically resisting the German aggressor, the Republic was attacked by the Army of the Soviet Union. And thus two neighboring states, not for the first time in our history, on the basis of a secret treaty concluded in a manner contrary to morality and principles of the law, decided to annihilate the Polish state and enslave the Polish people. But the people did not give up the struggle and the Republic continued to endure. The government in exile ran the state agencies and continued to wage a war of independence. At home, an underground state was built and various forms of fighting the invader were organized. The ultimate manfestation of the martial effort was the 1944 Warsaw uprising.

The war was the most horrific experience in the history of our people. More than 6 million Polish citizens lost their lives on the battlefield or as the victims of planned extermination of slave labor in Hitlerite concentration camps and Stalinist labor camps. Poland's national wealth was almost completely destroyed and the country plundered and laid to ruin. On Polish soil, the Third Reich carried out an annihilation of Jews from virtually every country in Europe.

We are aware that not not all Germans were perpetrating crimes and that the first victims of the Nazi tyranny was Germany democracy. But the painful question remains, whether the German people have measured up to the moral test which the criminal history of the Third Reich had brought along.

The participation of the USSR in a conspiracy against Poland's freedom and sovereignty was also a consequence of tyranny. The people of the USSR had to pay the price of indescribable suffering, especially when, in 1941 they, too, were subjected to German aggression.

As a result of the war, new European landscapes had arisen. For Poland, decades of new challenges and new trials had begun. The people had to live in conditions of a system which they neither chose nor accepted. On the basis of decisions made by the victorious powers without participation of the Poles, the borders of our state had changed. Today, after decades, they are inviolable within the peaceful order of present-day Europe. Poland treats, and will continue to treat, any attempt to lay claims against this state of affairs as unfriendly acts damaging its security.

The totalitarian challenge, in various forms of physical and spiritual enslavement, has been the Poles' tragic lot for the last 50 years. Now the people are living through great changes. Today we wish to think about the future. This reflection contains our memory of the historical experience of all of Europe. From that which is receding into the past we draw wisdom and faith in the proper sense of human existence. We want partnerlike cooperation in the cause of building a common Europe based on the principles of freedom and brotherhood of peoples.

The 50th anniversary of 1 September 1939 should become the day of a great turning point and should open up new horizons for reconciliation and an accord between the Poles and the Germans. We must regretfully note that this has not happened so far, although the first step was already taken many years ago in the letter from the Polish bishops to the German bishops, which liberated us and which continues to remain topical. Consistent steps on the part of the Poles and Poland's neighbors, equally East and West, for true and lasting reconciliation today are a moral and political duty for our peoples'.

Thank you very much.

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1208 GMT on 30 August in a continuation of the live relay of the Polish Senate Session broadcasts the live vote on the draft resolution read by Senator Szczpiorski. The resolution is adopted with no votes against and four abstentions]

Lozinski News Briefing on World War II Outbreak

LD2908195689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Report on news conference held by Presidential Press Spokesman Wlodzimierz Lozinski on 29 August, by correspondent Magdalena Winiarczyk]

[Text] Welcoming the journalists, Wlodzimierz Lozinski said:

[Begin Lozinski recording] I am pleased to meet esteemed colleagues, among you there are many I used to meet daily in my journalistic work. I expect that the change of my place will not change our contacts, or at least, will not weaken them. I am of course, new to this role. For many years I appeared in the world as a foreign correspondent, asking questions and writing. There are many examples to be followed for me, there is the Polish example—Colonel Gornicki [Jaruzelski's former spokesman] who could not come here because of his busy schedule, and from whom I am inheriting this (?post). [end recording]

[Winiarczyk] In his introductory statement the spokesman mentioned the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II. He recalled that in this biggest war cataclysm, the particularly painful experience which belongs to us as a nation. Over 6 million Polish citizens

died and 40 percent of Polish property was destroyed. Poland was the first country to give armed resistance to the aggression and was the only one to fight against Hitlerite Germany without a break, from 1 September to the victorious end of the war. He also recalled that our country's stance contributed to the creation of the grand anti-Hitlerite coalition which finally defeated the Third Reich. In Yalta and in Potsdam the coalition outlined the shape of the future peaceful system of relations in Europe and in the world. In conclusion he said:

[Begin recording] [Lozinski] The policy of peace constitutes one of the most important and typical features of Poland created after the war. It is the supreme principle of our foreign policy to strive systematically to ensure peace and security and put an end to the threat of war. This is accompanied by the openness of our country to all constructive peaceful initiatives, which serve, above all, the cause of European cooperation on the foundations of the Final Act of the CSCE conference and the known Polish proposals and initiatives for common security. Here I would like to recall the Rapacki Plan and the Gomulka Plan. The proposal made in May 1987 by Wojciech Jaruzelski to reduce armaments and increase confidence in Europe, which assumes the lowering of the level of military confrontation, is a dialectic continuation of these initiatives. It has as its aim the permament prevention of human suffering as experienced in particular by the Poles in the years of World War II. It is understandable that for these reasons the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II will be celebrated in a particulary solemn fashion in Poland.

The president will take part in many events. For example, on 1 September, at the Westerplatte in Gdansk, he will deliver a speech which will contain a message to states and nations. Poland will be visited at that time by representatives from the Four Powers and many countries of the former anti-Hitlerite coalition, as well as by representatives from the UN secretary general and the Vatican. Warsaw will be the location for mass prayers for peace by representatives of great world religions. The pope is the patron of these prayers. Warsaw will also be the location for a meeting of representatives of the cities of martyrdom and peace, young parliamentarians and groups of World War II veterans. We shall mark the memory of all the victims of the war. We shall pay homage to its heroes and we shall express the will to live in peace.

[Unidentified speaker] Thank you. Questions please. Editor Letowicz from RZECZPOSPOLITA.

[Letowicz] [Words indistinct] about the message sent by FRG President Weizsacker to President General Jaruzelski. Could you please comment on this event?

[Lozinski] It is true, today the president received a letter from President Weizsaecker. This letter is already known, there is no need to discuss it in more detail, because before the addressee received it, the letter was made available in Bonn to journalists and was published in the press, including the discussion in the Polish press. I can express the following view on the content of the letter: It contains many thoughts which agree with our feelings about the past, the present, and the future; thoughts which accord with the European will to build a common house, to improve international relations and build a future free from danger. President Wojciech Jaruzelski is giving the letter the greatest attention; the letter is the subject of detailed analysis and the Polish president will convey, of course, a reply to the FRG president.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that it follows from the text of the letter—and this too is an appropriate feeling which follows from sharing the view of the letter's author—that the future of our relations is going to be determined by facts [sentence as heard]. It is our intention that future dialogue should serve as best as possible the creation of such facts both in the wide sense and in specific problems raised in the letter. It is a question of legislative components confirming the view, decisively expressed in the letter, about the inviolability of Poland's borders and about the need to respect the existing reality in Europe, but it is also a question of issues such as Polish citizens, persecuted for example during World War II, having a moral right to compensation.

Of course, as I have said, President Weizsaecker, who is known in Poland as an advocate of close cooperation, development of cooperation between Poland and the FRG, is going to get a reply from the Polish president.

[Unidentified speaker] Boguslaw Turek, UPI.

[Turek] Could you say more about General Kryuchkov's visit to Poland and do you not think that Polish public opinion would have received better a visit to Poland by some representative from the economic sphere rather than police chief?

[Lozinski] Vladimir Kryuchkov is, first of all, a member of the CPSU Presidium [as heard] and he visited Poland, having been invited a long time ago, in that role. During his meeting with President Wojciech Jaruzelski the current state of, and prospects for, Polish-Soviet relations were discussed, just as—as far as I know—during his talks, his meeting with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Furthermore, Vladimir Kryuchkov briefed the president on problems connected with the further development of the Soviet restructuring.

[Unidentifid speaker] Debbie Stewart, AP.

[Stewart speaking in English with superimposed Polish translation] Why was the president not present in the parliament when the new premier, Mr Mazowiecki, was being elected?

[Lozinski] The president had conveyed his letter to the Sejm speaker. There are no rules which lay down the principles for the president's visits to either the Sejm or the Senate. The president presented his position in the

letter which was read out and, as the subsequent course of events has shown, which was accepted by a vast majority of the Sejm deputies.

[Stewart] Could you tell us anything more about the staff of the President's Office?

[Lozinski] It is going to be a much smaller team than the former team of the Council of State and the chairman of the Council of State. I can promise you, ladies and gentlemen, that I shall inform you in detail both about the numbers of staff employed at the President's Office and about the main, leading posts and personalities of the office, as soon as the work connected with establishing it is finished. And that should not be too far in the future. [end recording]

Further on News Conference

LD2908211389 Warsaw PAP in English 1831 GMT 29 Aug 89

[By Waldemar Janiec and Wieslawa Mazarska]

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Aug. 29—The press spokesman of the president of Poland, Wlodzimierz Lozinski held his first press conference in Warsaw today.

Asked whether compensation issues referred to Poles wronged only by the Third Reich and whether the Polish Government would address, apart from the FRG Government, the GDR and the USSR on this matter, the spokesman stated that this matter would be tackled by the new government. "The fortunes of Poles during World War Two have an indivisible value," Lozinski added.

Replying to other questions, the president's spokesman announced that the appointment of Jerzy Kuberski to the post of Poland's ambassador at the Vatican stemmed from his great achievements in the field of normalizing relations between Warsaw and the Holy See. Lozinski also recalled that Gen. Vladimir Kryuchkov visited Poland as a member of the CPSU authorities and the invitation was addressed to him many months ago.

"The president is an advocate of building a strong, broad coalition, of maximum peace in the country," Lozinski replied in reply to a question whether president Jaruzelski would back a possible appeal by Walesa for strike moratorium. "I would like to recall that also in 1981, Wojciech Jaruzelski, the then premier, appealed for 90 days of peace. Unfortunately, the radicalism of the opposing forces made putting this goal into practice impossible. The president would like the government being formed today to win the best conditions to exercise its functions in the interest of all professional, social and political groups of the Polish nation," the spokesman stated.

Asked about the president's stand on the proposal to hold earlier elections to local self-governments, Lozinski stated that this matter was not the most important at the moment.

Many questions addressed to the president's spokesman concerned the issue of the Carmelite convent in Oswiecim and the recent sermon of Poland's primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp. Lozinski refrained from taking a stand on these matters and on commenting on statements of the Western press on this subject. He only pointed out that this matter should be settled by the church sides concerned.

Public Poll Conducted on Sejm Senate Debates

LD2908202389 Warsaw PAP in English 1817 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—Asked what they expected on the newly elected parliament in a poll conducted by the CBOS centre of social opinion research, 43.4 percent of the respondents replied: improvement in living conditions, 35.2 percent: a healing of the economy, 11.6 percent: ensurement of social peace, 5.4 percent: democratization of political system.

The debates of the first sittings of the Sejm and Senate were followed very keenly by 11.1 percent of the polled, with attention by 39 percent, with a small degree of interest by 22 percent, and without any interest at all by 27.8 percent.

38.6 percent of the respondents following TV coverage of Sejm debates and 45.6 percent of those following Senate debates expressed confidence that the affairs of the country were in good hands.

A feeling of disenchantment and let-down was expressed by 36.7 percent of those following Sejm debates and 35.1 percent following Senate proceedings. Apprehension and fear of the future was expressed by 32.4 percent of respondents who followed Sejm debates and 34.8 percent in the case of Senate debates.

Freedom of speech, the openness of the deputies and senators, the truth and authenticity of discussions, clashes of different views, progress in parliamentarian democracy were considered positive menifestations of the debates of the new parliament by 44.7 percent of the polled.

16.2 percent of the respondents did not like the chaos during the debates (quarrels, nervous reactions), and 8.8 percent criticized the painstaking procedure of the election of the president and the fact that parliamentary floor groups did not heed earlier arrangements on this matter.

Politburo Discusses Situation, 15th Plenum

LD2908172589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] The Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee has examined an analysis of the political and social situation in the country, and the feelings of various social groups. The significant reduction in the number of strikes and the improved social

situation prior to the appointment of a new government were noted with satisfaction.

The Politburo also examined assessments and postulates by party members, including those expressed during meetings between members of the PZPR leadership and primary organizations which are of crucial importance for formulating the current and long-term policies of the party.

The state of preparations for the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum was also discussed.

Solidarity Executive Committee Presidium Meets

LD2908175989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Andrej Trojanowsk report from Gdansk]

[Text] [Trojanowski] today in Gdansk the Presidium of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity National Executive Commission [KKW] held its proceedings. Andrzej Milczanowski, member of the KKW Presidium:

[Milczanowski] The subject matter was as follows: current political situation; collaboration with the National Trade Union Configuration on strike issues and our attitude to wildcat strikes; the setting up of NSZZ Solidarity national section for the disabled and handicapped; the union in private work enterprises; the union's urban cooperation commissions; the issue of the NSZZ Solidarity of craftsmen; other business; and finally, a report on the implementation of the resolution regarding the union's economic activity.

[Trojanowski] What can you say about these wildcat strikes?

[Milczanowski] Here an assessment is difficult, because you have to be aware of the situation that the so-called introduction of market mechanisms has presented people with an entirely new economic situation. These drastic price rises have undoubtedly been reflected, let us say, in the family budget, and reflected obviously in a negative way, and hence these strikes that are conventionally termed wildcat strikes. We can note, however, a clear tendency toward a reduction in these, toward a fizzling out of these. I think we should have no illusions that if drastic price rises, mainly in the food market, continue to go on, we will not be able to avoid strikes.

[Trojanowski] How does the KKW Presidium appraise the political situation in our country?

[Milczanowski] First and foremost, which is completely obvious, it declares full support for the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki—support and assistance. The situation, generally speaking, is new, we could say experimental. We have never been in such a situation in 40-odd years, consequently I think everyone is aware of the responsibility which in practice rests on everyone.

'Abridged Texts' of Solidarity Documents

LD3008002689 Warsaw PAP in English 0013 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 29—Press spokesman of the chairman of NSZZ [Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarnosc Piotr Nowina-Konopka forwarded to PAP a communique on the meeting of the presidium of the National Executive Committee KKW Solidarnosc.

The communique says that participants in the meeting discussed the political situation in this country. It was said that the discussion on the moratorium on strikes would be held after the programme of the new government becomes known. Other forms of rendering support to Premier Mazowiecki were proposed. The participants debated also on regulating strike issues through internal decisions of the union.

Next, the participants in the meeting adopted documents: Resolution regulating cooperation with other organizations during strikes, resolution supporting formation of a section of disabled and crippled in the NSZZ Solidarnosc, position on hindering formation of unions in stock companies, private and foreign enterprises. They also adopted a statement on the ninth anniversary of August 1980. Here are the abridged texts of the adopted documents:

The Statement

On the ninth anniversary of signing of the August accords, social hopes are closer to materialization than ever before. We regained actual influence on the course of our Polish affairs. Solidarnosc came to be a force able to unify millions of compatriots, able to resurface, win elections, and have the first non-communist premier nominated.

Resolution 1

In connection with cases where joint strike and protest committees are formed with Solidarnosc and other organizations participation, the KKW NSZZ Solidarnosc obliges its branches and regional organizations to consult decisions with regional Solidarnosc authorities.

Resolution 2

NSZZ Solidarnosc recognizes urgent need to establish a section of crippled and disabled of the NSZZ Solidarnosc. The formation of such a section would permit a more effective protection of specific needs and interests of this group.

Position

KKW reminds that the law on trade unions permits the formation of trade union organizations in stock companies and private enterprises on the same grounds as in state enterprises.

All cases hindering the formation of NSZZ Solidarnosc organization in private enterprises and stock companies should be reported to regional authorities of the union.

Walesa Adviser Siwinski on Government's Policy

AU2808143389 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 28 Aug 89 p 8

[Interview with Krzysztof Siwinski, Lech Walesa's foreign policy adviser, who was also present in the pan-European meeting in Sopron, Hungary: "We Have a Good Hand in the Poker Game"—date, place not given]

[Text] DIE PRESSE: Mr Siwinski, it has often been claimed that Solidarity has been busy saying no for 7 years. That was very important. Now that the prime minister comes from your ranks, you cannot reject everything any more. Are you prepared for this changed situation?

Siwinski: No, certainly not. We would have liked to have had 1 or 2 years for that. However, we feel that we have the support of the social forces who did not want to accept the idea that the cards are just passed on—from Jaruzelski to Rakowski, and from him to Kiszczak. Lech Walesa's initial proposals which seemed to be scandalously courageous and daring at the first moment have all proved to represent the energies that exist in society. Solidarity has arrived at the conclusion that it must assume responsibility.

[DIE PRESSE] What is the starting position of the Polish Government led by Solidarity?

[Siwinski] Unlike a Polish chief of government like Kiszczak, for instance, it is supported by the people and has much better opportunities of cooperation with the West. That may be a guarantee that it will also be accepted by the Soviets. Like in a poker game, our hand is concealed, but we have a good hand.

[DIE PRESSE] The Soviets have announced with gritting teeth that they will not interfere. However, it would be easily conceivable that they will interfere indirectly by failing to cooperate with a government that is led by a Solidarity man on the same basis as they did previously. What will then happen?

[Siwinski] We have very many contacts to Moscow; there is not only the Kremlin; there are also other political centers. There are many people who tend toward close cooperation and say so, accepting all the risks that this involves. It is the first time in years that we are not exposed to uniform Soviet pressure but are aware that there are different opinions.

[DIE PRESSE] Poland's biggest problem is probably the economic situation. Is Solidarity prepared for the fact that ministers from its ranks must take measures that will be painful for the people?

[Siwinski] We have an entire elite that is dealing with economic problems. However, if you mean that a man must be found who knows how to change the centrally planned economy into a market economy, I can only say that such a man does not exist because there is no experience in this respect. However, many people are resolved to develop the Polish economy to become a "normal" economy where money is money, a bank is a bank, and bankruptcy is bankruptcy.

We are convinced that these problems cannot be solved without active foreign capital. However, participation in international division of labor can be organized in Poland only by Solidarity.

[DIE PRESSE] It has been imputed that the Communists agreed to the change of government because they are convinced that the Polish economy is a hopeless case. Do they want Solidarity to fail at the people's expense?

[Siwinski] We have no other way out. Walesa has often said that the Communists can also fail without our cooperation; however, together with them, the country will also be ruined. When we sat down for the "round-table" negotiations, we thought that we could not remain inactive while the country was being ruined within 2 or 3 years.

Because we are aware of this danger we have a real chance to prevent the catastrophe—at least a greater chance than others. Society does not expect Solidarity to work wonders either; it only expects us to stop the process of collapse. I am convinced of that.

[DIE PRESSE] What role do you play in this respect?

[Siwinski] All of Poland's international relations are focused on Europe. As we have seen here between Austria and Hungary, the dismantling of the Iron Curtain has been begun; it is our task now to fill the emerging vacuum. That cannot exclusively be done diplomatically, it must encompass an entire net of cultural, economic, and political contacts.

We have started to make the net, and I will continue this work. I will remain an adviser to Walesa and to anyone assuming political responsibility in the government. I will presumably work in the foreign affairs department of the Solidarity citizens committee, or in the prime minister's office.

[DIE PRESSE] There are rumors that you could become foreign minister....

[Siwinski] No, that will not happen. The foreign minister will come either from the Peasants' Party or from the Democratic Party. Solidarity would like to see a career diplomat become foreign minister, because Poland's biggest problem is the quadrature of the circle. Fundamental changes must be achieved without the situation being destabilized. The general concern is about the nomenklatura, not so much on the ministerial level but on a lower level, meaning on the level of company directors and appointed cadres.

[DIE PRESSE] And in the Foreign Ministry?

[Siwinski] Our goal is not the replacement of communist ambassadors and officials with opposition members, but the creation of a sort of civil service according to the British model. However, it is obvious that the basic line of the Foreign Ministry will be determined by the prime minister.

Geremek Interviewed on Solidarity Government

PM2908143089 Paris LIBERATION in French 22 Aug 89 pp 14-15

[Interview with Solidarity Adviser Bronislaw Geremek by Veronique Soule in Warsaw—date not given]

[Text] Warsaw—LIBERATION: How do you respond to the Communist Party's rather threatening reactions to the formation of the coalition government?

Bronislaw Geremek: I think that the real problem now is to see how relations between the Communist Party and the government are established. The statement by the Central Committee (which held a plenum Saturday—LIBERATION editor's note) explains that the Communists are not prepared to accept just any role in the future government. We must understand that if they are only given the Army and the police (the "sensitive" Defense and Interior Ministries—LIBERATION editor's note), they will regard themselves as an opposition party. They are awaiting proposals on the number of portfolios which they will have in the government. This is a major problem. Things are not settled here in the same way as they are in parliamentary democracies. It is not so much the problem of the number of portfolios but the problem of the regime and its political foundations. We have always rejected the "grand coalition" proposed by Jaruzelski. It may be thought that this is what is now being formed. But that is not the case. Jaruzelski's proposal was an invitation to take part in the distribution of privileges, in other words to take part in the nomenklatura system. We were being offered a piece of the cake. We have always refused and said that our objective was to destroy the nomenklatura system. We thought that the best way was to start at the bottom by reforming local self-management. But the government's collapse was such that the process was speeded up. We had to make the revolutionary gesture of forming the government without waiting for those reforms from below. In forming the government, our representatives are ignoring the nomenklatura. But the system still exists.

LIBERATION: What demands do you plan to make regarding the gradual disappearance of the nomenklatura?

Bronislaw Geremek: It all depends on the situation on the other side. Nobody can predict the future of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] which is collapsing. Of its 1.5 million members, 1.2 million belong to the nomenklatura. The question of the party is therefore the main question. During the dialogue which preceded the decision to form a coalition, people said: "We will form a government without the Communists." This remark immediately had serious consequences and warning lights came on everywhere: the Army, the police, the party apparatus, and Moscow reacted. In my view, we must never create a "Kabul-type situation" in which the former regime's representatives feel that they have no chance of surviving.

At the roundtable (5 February to 6 April—LIBERATION editor's note), we thought that we should give the PZPR a chance of surviving by changing the structures. But that would have taken time. As it turned out, there was not much time.

"A government without the Communists" was tantamount to saying "death to the Communists." That mistake had to be remedied. There comes a time when you have to return to political reality.

LIBERATION: How will you be able to govern in practice? Are you not afraid of passive resistance or even sabotage by party cadres?

Bronislaw Geremek: The simplest thing would of course be to form a government without the Communists. The nomenklatura is a world of allegiance. If a clear signal was given that the Communists would remain outside the government, most of those people would change their allegiance and hand in their cards. That would be the simplest thing. But it is dangerous.

There is another risk which we must face. We already have examples of nonparty ministers who do not run their ministries because they have a communist deputy minister at their side. The Polish Government is not just a central government but also, and more especially, a regional government. The communist first secretary for a region decides everything. Without a local government reform, our government will be isolated, without any impact on or contact with real life. We would therefore see a real country in which the communist nomenklatura still reigned and a legal country in which there would be democracy and a political coalition.

LIBERATION: When would this local reform be introduced?

Bronislaw Geremek: In 1 year, possibly before if things are speeded up. But a package of new laws must first be passed.

LIBERATION: Do you not think that this government, which will take office in the middle of a crisis, has many handicaps before it even starts work? Are you not afraid?

Bronislaw Geremek: We are surrounded by risks. But what a great opportunity! We had been working for it for years, but, at the same time, it was difficult to imagine that our program would be implemented so quickly. And here we are, the country is now abandoning the communist system.

LIBERATION: How many ministries are you prepared to give to the Communists?

Bronislaw Geremek: I cannot say, but I can tell you what the situation is. The Peasant Party and the Democratic Party would each like a deputy prime minister's post. And they could obtain them. They would also like several ministries. But portfolios should not be given to parties but to competent people of various leanings.

It would obviously be possible for the Communists to remain outside the government. At all events, the Army and police will remain the president's (Jaruzelski's) prerogatives. The government might therefore leave out the Communist Party or not. But in the latter case, it must be made jointly responsible, for economic decisions among other things. If that did not happen, what a strange situation there would be: There would be an opposition which controlled only the Army and the police, in other words all the power structures, but which had no responsibility!

LIBERATION: Does the Communist Party want a number of posts proportional to its size, in other words proportional to its parliamentary representation?

Bronislaw Geremek: Well.... It forms 38 percent of the Sejm, and it would therefore like one third of ministerial posts. There are 18 ministries, so you can work it out.

LIBERATION: Are you prepared to give it those six ministries?

Bronislaw Geremek: I cannot say.

LIBERATION: Politics is now dominating the scene. What has happened to the Solidarity trade union in all that?

Bronislaw Geremek: It is true that the situation has not been clear over the past week, because Walesa, on the trade union's behalf, concluded a political alliance with the Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. Contrary to Solidarity's own philosophy, the trade union suddenly became a political party. In fact, that was the result of our failure to establish a political structure between the June elections and the parliamentary session.

We have just decided to develop the civic movement and to revive all the civic committees (formed to organize the election campaign—LIBERATION editor's note). We will therefore have a national and regional structure. Walesa will have two roles; he will be a trade union leader who is simultaneously playing a political role. But the trade union role and the political role will be separate. This is crucially important. Otherwise, the trade union will be lost in a situation in which there are particularly acute conflicts between trade union and political interests.

The trade union must regain a degree of autonomy and rid itself of its political influence. It is thanks to it and its action during the campaign and the elections that we are in this situation. We owe all these developments to Solidarity.

Our biggest parliamentary group—there are 260 of us as opposed to 173 PZPR members—needs a structure behind it. Will these civic committees become a party? I do not think so, because the ideological and professional divisions are such that unity was ultimately achieved on fundamental rather than truly political values: freedom, social justice, and the independence of the judiciary.

LIBERATION: Do you think that this government will mobilize the Poles and overcome their skepticism?

Bronislaw Geremek: In Gdansk yesterday, people were chanting: "We want bread, not a prime minister." However, I think that the public sees this as a good sign, one which shows that "we have won," as in the elections. We are also witnessing a speeding up of the crisis. Usually, when prices are increased, there are fewer goods in the stores; this is no longer the case. There is also competition in social demagoguery. In the mines, strikes are organized by the official trade unions and the Confederation for an Independent Poland. Hunger marches are being announced in Lodz. All that should be stopped by the fact that "we have our prime minister." Will this happen? Nobody knows. I predict a degree of enthusiasm limited by the feeling that nothing can be done in the economic sphere.

LIBERATION: What do you see as the importance of events in Poland for the communist world?

Bronislaw Geremek: We have known for a long time that not only is Poland in the vanguard of the process in Eastern Europe but it is also a test ground. The results of this experiment relate very closely to the future of the USSR and the East European countries. Moscow has shown signs of anxiety, but no reactions which are reminiscent of the Brezhnev doctrine. Anxiety about a "noncommunist government" will soon be dispelled when it is formed. The fact that the Soviet press is mentioning the possibility of the Finlandization of part of the empire is also very important.

There is a great chance of seeing the empire break up and democracy restored to Eastern Europe. This opportunity stems partly from the economic crisis. But it is likely to be jeopardized by the crisis, by lack of patience and hope among the peoples of Poland, the USSR, and Hungary. The Polish situation is the clearest: a conflict between inspirations and the possibilities for realizing them, between economics and politics, between political hope and material despair. If this experiment did not succeed, it would put a halt to the whole positive development now going on in Eastern Europe.

LIBERATION: Are you disappointed that you are not prime minister?

Bronislaw Geremek: Not at all. First, so far there has been no question of personal ambition here. Moreover, I feel very useful in the Sejm. Finally, it gives me immense satisfaction to see that everything is working out—all that we dreamed rather than thinking of in terms of rational plans.

No Conflict With Party Members to Authorities

LD2608195189 Warsaw PAP in English
1806 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 26—"For party-members, who are the basic staff of ministries and central offices, there is no conflict between preserving their ideological identity as partymen and being loyal to the legal state authorities," Political Bureau Member and PUWP [Polish Worker's Party] CC Secretary Leszek Miller told secretaries of PUWP committees in ministries and central offices at a meeting here today.

"The civil servants with PUWP membership must be fully aware of the fact that the party serves the nation while the changing formula of the political life in Poland brings about numerous possibilities for political engagement of party members in processes of democratic transformations, according to the vital interests of all Poles," he said.

OPZZ Chairman Miodowicz Meets Orzechowski

LD2908132489 Warsaw PAP in English
1139 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—Chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) Alfred Miodowicz met leader of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Sejm Floor Group Marian Orzechowski here today. Both sides discussed conclusions stemming from the new political situation for the way of presenting interests and strivings of seven million trade unionists federated in the OPZZ to the Sejm.

Both sides agreed upon the procedure of cooperation and current contacts between the PUWP Sejm Floor Group and the OPZZ.

Democratic Party Head on Government Composition

LD2608024589 Warsaw PAP in English
0002 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Krakow, Aug. 25—"We displayed interest in 10 ministries—of course we do not count on receiving 10 portfolios, but we want the premier to have manouvering space," chairman of the floor group of the Democratic Party Jan Janowski told newsmen at a conference here today.

"We count on the post of vice-premier and three or four portfolios, but we are not going to bring the matters to a head. I think that the result will be 2-3 ministries, a central office and vice-premier's post. As the premier expressed the will to invite PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] reformatory forces to participate in power-wielding—we had to provide manouvering space for him. The United Peasants Party [UPP] counted on five or six ministers, just like we did. From what I know, the UPP put forward its offer. Our interests are convergent, in particular as to the ministries of foreign affairs, education, justice and environment protection.

"The new premier sees the need to reorganize the government, primarily by splitting the artificially combined ministries—such as the Ministry of Forestry, Agriculture and Food Economy, and to restore the status of central offices to some ministries. Being a realist, however, the premier does not think that this task could be undertaken immediately, just as it is impossible to correct the administrative division of the country just now," Janowski said.

Discussing the possible candidates for the post of foreign minister, Janowski, although highly appreciating professional qualifications of Tadeusz Olechowski, said that in his opinion "the premier will keep the post of the foreign minister for his own parliamentary floor group, as two key ministries (of internal affairs and of national defence) have already been left by the coalition in the PUWP's hands.

"In my opinion, the role of the Sejm in shaping Poland's foreign policy will increase considerably, as the chief decisionmaker, namely the PUWP Central Committee that was above the Foreign Ministry, will cease to play that role. It will be taken over by the Sejm and the Sejm foreign committee. Adopted was a principle that chairman of the Sejm foreign committee and the foreign minister should be members of different political groupings," said he.

Janowski briefed the newsmen also on a new proposal as to resigning from making a separate law on political parties in favour of a constitutional provision saying that a political party is recognized as legal if its statutes presented for registration are assessed by the constitutional tribunal as conforming to the Constitution.

Bentkowski on Efforts To Unite Peasant Groups

LD2908183489 Warsaw PAP in English
1738 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—The "peasants round table" has already convened three times. Asked by PAP in what direction the debates headed, Aleksander Bentkowski, a member of the Presidium of the United Peasant Party CC [Central Committee] and chairman of the UPP [United Peasants Party] Parliamentary Floor Group stated in part:

We are heading towards a congress of the peasant movement. This will be a congress of unification of all factions of the peasant movement, that is the PSL Polish Peasant Party, the United Peasant Party, peasant activists from Solidarnosc, the ZMW Union of Peasant Youth and the Social Committee of the Revival of the Peasant Movement. Everyone is talking about the need for unity, everyone stresses this but when it comes to making arrangements as to the proportions in which each of these groups is to be represented at this congress, the first

controversies and trouble surface. Things are the same as concerns arrangements regarding the make-up of congressional commissions.

Let us hope nonetheless that more consolidated groups will be represented at the next meeting of the "round table", to take place in 2 weeks. I am referring to the PSL which still is somewhat divided and is represented by two groups.

There was a proposal for the congress of the peasant movement to debate on the exact anniversary of the congress of the Polish Peasant Party, that is between January 21 and 23, next year. We have decided that a congressional commission would already be set up at the next meeting of our "round table." Working groups should also already be set up to work out a draft statute, declaration and program of the future peasant party.

Miller Sees PZPR in 'Very Good Position'

LD2908100989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Leszek Miller writes in TRYBUNA LUDU that no matter what it could be accused of, the party should not be and is not criticized for its foreign policy. The party has guaranteed us a safe and stable place in Europe, a favorable place for Poland in the world, and alliances which allow a feeling of national security. Society needs that feeling and it must continue to be maintained. For these reasons, Leszek Miller states, we also believe that the portfolio of the minister of foreign affairs should be entrusted to our party member, Tadeusz Olechowski.

We wish the very best to the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, as its success will serve Poland, the Central Committee secretary went on to say. We cannot be indifferent—we are too deeply involved with society, with its living conditions. For that reason we cannot be indifferent to the direction of the new government's political and economic program, what kind of Poland it wants to build, how Poles are going to live in it, and what the situation of party members will be.

We have listened with care to the statement by the premier on the attitude to personnel, and personnel holding Polish United Workers Party membership cards. The statement that competency would be decisive puts our personnel in a very good position. The overwhelming majority are competent, experienced, and loyal workers. We will carefully observe their fate and react to breaks in the formula announced. The present time is also, and perhaps above all, a time of ascertaining what individual people are really worth, their characters, and their real attitude to the transformations, Leszek Miller emphasized.

Union Offers 6-Month Moratorium on Strikes

LD2508170989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] The leadership of the Federation of Metallurgical Trade Unions in Poland has (?submitted) a proposal announcing a 6-month moratorium in order to give the new government a chance to begin effective action to rescue the economy and Poland. It appeals to all national trade union organizations, trade unions in industrial enterprises, offices and institutions, management and workers' councils, for all matters to be solved by way of negotiations and talks, without holding back production.

Solidarity Halts Strikes in West Pomerania

LD2908152289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] [Anouncer] Szczezin [word indistinct] on the air:

[Unidentified reporter] The Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity Interfactory Organizational Committee [MKO] of the Western Pomeranian region is trying to bring about a stop to all strikes and protest actions in accordance with Lech Walesa's appeal. MKO representatives have taken up the role of mediators in conflicts between the management and workforce of the Swinoujscie Odra fishing enterprise as well as in the state farms in Grzybno and Lubanow. In all those cases agreement was reached and the protest actions were stopped.

Solidarity Farmers Support Mazowiecki, End Strike

LD2908181689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 29 Aug 89

[No video available]

[Text] We begin the news with a resolution passed today by the members of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers Provisional National Council [TKR] at their meeting in Wilanow.

[Unidentified speaker] The Solidarity of Private Farmers TKR calls on all farmers to end their protest and to pay the first and second installments of the total amount of insurance premiums due as stated in the premium demands. Our protest first and foremost resulted from a lack of confidence in the authorities. Now we have grounds to believe that the new government, set up by Solidarity, is going to interpret and solve the problems of the countryside correctly. The lifting of the strike in the present political situation is an expression of goodwill, confidence, and support for Premier Mazowiecki on the part of the TKR.

The Solidarity of Private Farmers TKR considers that the existing system of social and PZU [State Insurance Agency] insurance requires fundamental changes. We are convinced that these changes will be carried out by

the new government. At the same time we ask the government to give farmers an additional 2 weeks for making the overdue payments.

We thank all farmers who took part in the protest. And so, fellow farmers, in spite of the fact that our demands have not been met, we are ending the strike to show our confidence in Premier Mazowiecki's government.

Miodowicz on Possible Halting of Strikes

LD2908191389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1800 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Interview with Alfred Miodowicz, head of the Polish National Trade Union Accord, OPZZ, by unidentified program presenter, in studio on 29 August—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] We have given the OPZZ chairman access to the television cameras today. You will be spending the next 10 minutes with Alfred Miodowicz, ladies and gentlemen. Mr Chairman, did you hear Premier Mazowiecki's Sejm expose?

[Miodowicz] I was returning from the Mazurian Lake District by car at the time and I listened to his speech, which was very interesting.

[Presenter] As a trade unionist, what interested you most in the expose?

[Miodowicz] First and foremost the premier's calm as he spoke about difficult issues; and as we are on television, the fact that television will be pluralist, and that means that at last our OPZZ trade union will have a permanent, lasting place in television programs.

[Presenter] Voices are being heard—Lech Walesa has made an appeal, as has the Federation of Metallurgical Trade Unions—asking for a stop to the strikes to give the new government a breathing space. What do you think about this?

[Miodowicz] Does this mean that I'm supposed to make an appeal here to the country, to our 7 million trade union members, to stop the strikes?

[Presenter] No. Just express their opinion.

[Miodowicz] They can express their own opinion very well. I think that Miodowicz might appeal for calm for a year, for 2 years; but nothing comes of these appeals. The situation is very difficult. Hundreds of thousands—no, millions of families even—are falling below the poverty line; so, [words indistinct] if the average citizen, after Miodowicz's appeal, without striking and by tightening his belt to the last hole survives it, then there you are, there will be social calm.

[Presenter] So, that means there won't be a single honeymoon month? [play on Miodowicz's name and miodowy miesiac, Polish for honeymoon].

[Miodowicz] You can't get the ("luxury) of such a month from the trade unions. You have to earn it for yourself. [passage omitted] It isn't a good thing, when the manager of a firm or the director says there is no money and the strike weapon is enough for the money to be found. There must be some kind of solution here; either there is money and it will be paid out, or there is no money and it won't be, even though the strike goes on. Of course, I'm an opponent of strikes, particularly in the present difficult situation. However, I understand the workforces' despairing at what is happening, especially in public sector workplaces.

[Presenter] Mr Chairman, a straight answer: Do you think people will come out on the streets in the immediate future?

[Miodowicz] I think the immediate future will be a testing time for some of the roundtable concepts. I'm talking about index- linking. I think index-linking, as Solidarity presented it, [words indistinct] and which to my astonishment was also adopted, so to speak, by way of a decision—and so the law now operates—by the Sejm, is very worrying and does not auger social calm.

PAP Rounds Up Strike Situation in Country

LD2908214789 Warsaw PAP in English 2055 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—Strikes continued today in some towns and enterprises throughout Poland.

The strike at the Sosnowiec ambulance service continued to aggravate as the competent representatives of the voivodship authorities did not start talks with the strike committee. The ambulance transport and doctors' visits were limited to life-threatening cases.

Also one of the ambulance service stations in Poznan and in Nowy Tomysl continued a sit-in strike today.

The crew of the Dolomite pit in Siewierz announced a strike alert over pay disputes without stopping the work.

A committee representing the employees of the Kalisz branch of the RSW publishing concern announced a protest action over pay demands.

Dabrowa Gornicza Coking Plant Strike Ends

LD2808222289 Warsaw PAP in English 2102 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 28—A 10-day sit-in strike ended today in the "Przyjazn" coking plant in Dabrowa Gornicza with the crew resuming normal work on the first shift. The strikers had demanded i.a. a 100 percent pay rise and independence of the plant which hitherto had been a part of the "Huta Katowice" metallurgical combine.

PAP learnt that the managers of the combine together with the employees' council had taken a decision on singling out the coking plant which had been accepted by

the minister of industry. It provided grounds for starting another round of talks between the strike committee and the director of the already independent plant. These talks halted the strike action. The agreement signed provides for i.a. fulfilling pay demands and giving independence to the plant as well as for negotiations by the trade unions on the new price of the coke in the nearest time.

Government Note to CSSR About Coking Plant

LD2508171889 Warsaw PAP in English 1500 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 25—Foreign Vice-Minister Boleslaw Kulski today handed a note to the Czechoslovak ambassador here concerning the construction of a coking plant in Stonava two kilometres from Poland's border with Czechoslovakia.

The Polish Government expects the Czechoslovak Government to urgently make decisions which would stave off the threat that the coking plant in Stonava might pose to the ecological environment of the Beskidy Mountains.

Kulski handed another note pressing for damages on the part of Czechoslovakia for polluting the ecological system of the Odra river in 1986. The note says that there is no justification for the protracted settlement of this question.

The coking plant in Stonava would pose a major threat to the entire region of the Beskidy Mountains, a densely populated area with numerous spa and recreation centres. This question was raised in a letter by the Polish premier of May 17,1989, sent to the prime minister of Czechoslovakia. It is also discussed by experts from both countries.

The note conveyed today stresses that the start-up of the Stonava coking plant would cause degradation of waters in the Olza River and in the reservoir in Goczalkowice providing drinking water for Silesia.

Daily on Czech 1968 Anniversary Manifestations

AU2508163789 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 23 Aug 89 p 7

[Article signed 'aj': "Czechoslovakia—The Aftermath"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak police has claimed another victory over the united forces of local hooligans, criminals, and the paid agents of imperialism. Colonel Dvorak, representative of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, stated that "370 people, including 56 foreigners—Poles, Italians, and Hungarians—had been detained in the operations which restored order."

On Monday the Czechoslovak mass media had already carried information on the purported mass participation of Poles—"Solidarity" representatives—in the manifestations organized on the 21st anniversary of the intervention of the Warsaw Pact forces. It was claimed that "Solidarity," the Hungarian Union of Young Democrats "Fidesz," and the Italian Radical Party were "the main organizers of and prime movers behind the disturbances." We were informed by Zdzislaw Niewola, the Polish consul in Prague, that he had tried to establish the facts pertaining to the numbers of the detained Poles and their fate, late on 21 August. Regrettably, the representatives of the police, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs refused to give any information. Up to 1600 hours on Tuesday he was only able to find out that only two Polish citizens staying in Prague had not returned to their hotels. He was not able, however, to obtain the name of any Pole purported to have been detained. Consul Niewola stated that in view of the situation the Polish authorities were forced to intervene by diplomatic means.

Budapest radio in the meantime, had carried the news that nine Hungarians had been detained during Monday's demonstration on Wenceslas Square, and five others, including one correspondent of Hungarian television, three journalists, and a "Fidesz" member, had disappeared. The Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs had agreed to allow the Hungarian consul to be present at the interrogations of Hungarian detainees. As yet no Hungarian has been formally charged. "Fidesz" activists have called for a hunger strike in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest in support of their detained colleagues.

A CZECHOSLOVAK PRESS AGENCY communique has stressed that all those who have been detained will face charges according to Czech law, regardless of their nationality.

On Tuesday, we received news of protest actions in other cities in Czechoslovakia. In Brno, over 3,000 people gathered in Peace Square to commemorate the anniversary with a moment of silence, and later sang the national anthem. Similar manifestations took place in Olomouc and Gottwaldov. The police did not intervene in any of these cities.

PZPR Academic on Workers' View of Socialism

PM2408134789 Szczecin GLOS SZCZECINSKI in Polish 12-15 Aug 89 p 5

[Interview with Prof Leszek Gilejko, director of PZPR Academy of Social Sciences Institute for Working Class Studies, by KAR correspondent Irena Scholl; date, place not given]

[Text] [Scholl] The 45th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic encourages us to ask certain fundamental questions. For example: Is it true that the working people of Poland's urban and rural population wield real power in the country?

[Gilejko] In those 45 years the majority of people in positions of power in Poland—at national, party, and economic levels—were indeed of working-class or peasant origins. In that sense, statistics do confirm our thesis. On the other hand, the system of the exercise of power, the economic system, and political practice were copied wholesale from the Stalinist model and that was socialism's great misfortune.

Today, when we hear and read about Stalinism and the ravages it caused, everything else tends to be overshadowed by the horror of the NKVD atrocities and the terror prevalent throughout the whole Eastern bloc. But the establishment of bureaucratic structures in the economy, and in particular the disfranchisement of direct manufacturers had equally dramatic and far-reaching consequences...

[Scholl] But those manufacturers were the same people who, in the first postwar years, took over the ruined and derelict factories, rebuilt and overhauled them, and started production...

[Gilejko] The new system presented tremendous incentives to the working class and the peasants. Large numbers of people moved from the rural areas to the cities, where—together with urban proletarian population—they undertook the task of industrialization of the country. They did not find it easy: They were far from their own homes, they spent their days working very hard at gigantic construction projects and their evenings studying to further their education. But all that represented genuine advancement for the working people who regarded themselves as joint stewards and joint creators of their own state. Unfortunately, as time went by, power was increasingly assumed by the "aktivocracy" and the officialdom, including peasants and workers who had "risen above their class."

[Scholl] There are some people who quite bluntly insist: "It was the undereducated who, having scrambled to positions of power, got us into the mess we are in today and brought the country's economy to its knees..."

[Gilejko] It was not quite like that. To quote from the memoirs of a foundry worker from Srem, "Workers believe that people who do not know how to serve others, cannot listen to the voice of the general public, and intend to abuse power should not even begin to rule others. The rulers should in the first place ask a lot of themselves and they should also demand honest work on the part of the ruled and ensure proper discipline in society, accompanied by correct interpersonal relations and democratic models of government."

[Scholl] Apart from the expanding administration and bureaucracy, what do workers believe to be the cause of the failures suffered by our country? Is it socialism?

[Gilejko] The majority of workers do not think so! We can confidently claim that the three generations of workers who have lived and worked in postwar Poland have accepted the fundamental ideals and values of socialism and already regard them as the norm. These ideals and values are, among others, social justice; social equality; democracy interpreted as the rule of the people; work as the measure of man's value, the basis of his assessment as a member of society, and the basis for calculating his share in the distribution of wealth; equality of opportunity for the young people from all social classes; finally, abolition of large-scale private property and socialization of the means of production.

[Scholl] What advantages do workers see in the existence of socialist Poland?

[Gilejko] Access to education and culture. Memoirs and diaries of the oldest generation of workers are full of stories of disappointed hopes and wasted talents of people who, in the interwar period, had no chance of acquiring education and choosing the careers they would have wanted. Then the authors of those memoirs go on to describe the lives and careers of their children, who were able to gain their university degrees or reach high professional positions in postwar Poland. Those were not "the undereducated": They represented the first generation of our intelligentsia to replace the generation murdered by the Nazis or victimized in the years of Stalinist terror.

The workers describe their profound emotional reaction to the abolition of unemployment and the national campaign to eliminate illiteracy, to the gaining of unlimited access to books, and to the free access to the world of culture.

[Scholl] Which attributes, qualities, and principles of socialism do workers refuse to accept?

[Gilejko] On the whole, workers refuse to accept as their own and identify with the values and laws of philosophical materialism, which they equate with atheism. In addition, they largely reject such values and political norms as party and trade union monism; ruling out the possibility of opposition; the USSR's political dictatorship in the socialist world; the subordination of foreign policy; the Brezhnev doctrine; and so on. Nor do they accept central planning and central economic control.

[Scholl] Some of these principles were already rejected many years ago, and most are becoming obsolete today anyway!

[Gilejko] But in workers' minds they still constitute the essence of socialism, as it were, as an ideological and political system. You cannot erase the memory of negative experience from your mind to order.

[Scholl] Let us, then, go back to the causes of our failures.

[Gilejko] Apart from those already discussed, the poor condition of our economy is blamed on the collapse of the work ethic and the lack of belief in the moral value inherent in human labor. These attitudes do not mean that people "spontaneously" hold work as such in contempt. They have arisen from bad work organization and the fact that the fruits of human effort are often wasted.

The system which was supposed to place work on a pedestal has gradually brought about its depreciation. This is one of the tragedies of the past 45 years.

[Scholl] What conclusion do workers draw from it?

[Gilejko] They increasingly come to believe that workforces and self-management structures must take an active part in management and that it is necessary to carry out a genuine socialization of the means of production. Several years ago only 20 percent of opinion poll respondents expressed that belief, while in 1989 already more than 30 percent agreed with it.

[Scholl] All hardworking men want above all to be valued and respected. The paradox of our times lies also in the fact that workers are often better and more fairly paid by private rather than state firms.

[Gilejko] Yes, but this does not necessarily mean that workers as a whole would prefer to see the economy privatized. The majority of respondents polled this year are in favor of a socialized form of ownership in the industrial sector. However, at the same time they would welcome authentic freedom for enterprises, which ought to make their own decisions about the distribution of enterprise profits. Enterprises should be the "property" of their workforces as much as possible.

This is why are now witnessing an increased tendency on workers' part to enter self-management and democratic structures, at both national and enterprise level. This tendency was most clearly expressed in large-scale social protest movements, whose range and scope increased each time around. The years 1956, 1970, and 1980-81 were memorable landmarks of revolt against the distortions of socialist ideals and the downgrading of the working people. They generated a growing demand for workers' own, new organizations, and for independent trade unions. They also generated a growing demand for democracy, a demand which has been felt and expressed most intensely by the youngest generation of workers.

Thus, we are now facing a return to the roots of socialism, although there are some who try to persuade workers that democracy is the antithesis of socialism. This is, of course, nonsensical. What we are witnessing is a process of bursting out of the Stalinist straitjacket. We are looking for a suitable formula for creating a system which could prove its merit by ensuring a decent quality of life for the working people.

Sejm Speaker Kozakiewicz on Israeli Relations

TA2208132489 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 22 Aug 89 pp 1, 12

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Polish Sejm speaker, by special correspondent in Poland Yisra'el Volman on 21 August; place not given]

[Text] "I hope recent developments in Poland will soon lead to the establishment of full diplomatic relations with Israel," Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, the new speaker of the Polish Sejm, stated yesterday in an exclusive interview with YEDI'OT AHARONOT.

Kozakiewicz, a member of the United Peasant Party which will be part of the new coalition led by Solidarity, added: "At the moment, your ambassador holds the awkward title of 'head of Israel's interests department.' I hope we will soon be able to simplify his title."

[Volman] What will be the attitude of the new regime in Poland toward developing relations with Israel?

[Kozakiewicz] It depends on the makeup of the government. Generally speaking, it will obviously take a positive attitude toward breaking taboos in our foreign policy. It will take action to make us more independent and less reliant.

The same holds true for the establishment of full diplomatic relations between Poland and Israel. To date we have toed the line of other socialist countries, but we are not that dependent now.

In the meantime, our two countries have developed informal relations without talking too much about the matter. About 50,000 Israeli tourists come to this country every year without it getting too much publicity here. My daughter visited Israel a month ago and stayed in a kibbutz for 2 weeks. She had a hard time finding a seat on the plane to Poland. This means that Poles, too, are eager to visit Israel.

[Volman] Is that the position of your party or of the new coalition about to be established?

[Kozakiewicz] You must understand that because they are busy with domestic matters, Polish parties do not often deal with foreign policy. As is known, our foreign policy has to date been conducted by the Polish Communist Party, whose orientation was very similar to parties in other communist countries. Their considerations were simple: You in Israel are only 4 million, while the Arabs total 100 million.

[Volman] So what has changed?

[Kozakiewicz] Nothing has changed as far as the facts are concerned, but it was a mistake to make that kind of calculation.

[Volman] In your opinion, how will everyday life change in Poland now?

[Kozakiewicz] Nothing will change with regard to the economic situation. Perhaps if the people have more confidence in the new government, there will be fewer strikes. It is naive to think that there will be miracles. Even if the pope were to become the prime minister of Poland, he would not be able to pull off a miracle.

Two to 3 years are needed to effect economic reforms. The first signs of an alleviation in the food shortages may

be discerned within 6 months. If the people support the government and proceed with restraint, there is a chance.

[Volman] Are you not afraid that people's expectations may be excessive?

[Kozakiewicz] People always expect too much, and that is why they may have been disappointed even with the outcome of the last election. They are tired.

Solidarity must try to heal the economy, tighten belts, and make unpopular decisions. This is a heavy responsibility as well as a dangerous situation for Solidarity. Leaders who are prepared to accept such a tough job act out of patriotism. This is a dramatic and spectacular change. How long this psychological momentum will last with the people, nobody knows.

[Volman] How have the Soviets reacted so far?

[Kozakiewicz] The Soviets are not made of one solid bloc. The ruling class has shown understanding. The Soviet ambassador called on me; I gathered from him that if they see no danger to this part of Europe, as far as they are concerned they will follow events and wish us luck. This, of course, as long as we remain loyal to the Warsaw Pact. The Soviets are watching us and testing our loyalty.

On the other hand, nobody knows how long Gorbachev will remain in power, and unpredictable developments might take place in the Soviet Union.

Justice Official Interviewed on Prison Reform

AU2308072889 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLILTA in Polish 16 Aug 89 p 4

[Interview with Romuald Sokora, director general of the Ministry of Justice, by Jan Ordynski: "We Want To Free Prisons From the Secrecy Which Surrounds Them"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Ordynski] The day you were assuming the functions of the chief of the Polish prison service you promised that after 1 year in office, a year which has just elapsed, you would give an answer to the following question, namely, has your view now changed on the differences between a judge who passes a custodial sentence and the person who is responsible for its implementation?

[Sokora] At this moment I am convinced of the need to change penal law by diversifying the classification of penalties. I am fully conscious of the fact that society still regards imprisonment as the supreme penalty of all legal penalties, and that the other penalties, such as restriction on freedom of movement or fines are seen as insufficient weapons in the fight against crime. It would thus appear that the penalty of imprisonment needs to be modernized and given more flexibility. At present, the offender serves his 6 months, 1, 2, or more years in prison, and has the possibility of being released subject to good behavior within a given time, depending on whether he is a young, or a habitual offender. In my opinion this need not always be the case. We should make use of custodial sentences, but we need make them shorter although making them just as painful. For example, the offender can carry on working at his factory and at 1600 every day he will report to his local police station and spend the night in the cells. In the morning he gets up and goes to work. Alternately, the offender can stay in the police cells from Friday afternoon through to Monday morning. He could also serve his sentence during holidays and vacations. The main advantage of these arrangements is that the offender is not plucked out of his community, but continues to live and work within it. His qualifications are thus not wasted. Additionally, he is still subject to the strong pressures of his environment. For many this will be substantially more painful than a 1-year prison sentence served somewhere in another region of Poland. This is the way we have to limit the numbers of those categories of offenders who need to serve true prison sentences.

[Ordynski] Why?

[Sokora] In my view the penalty of deprivation of personal liberty will evolve in such a way that penal establishments will tend to specialize, becoming counselling and rehabilitation centers. This means that they will only cater to those offenders who for reasons of health, or unremediable compulsive tendency to habitual crime when at liberty, have not been able to benefit from other kinds of penal centers. Let us consider the average cross-section of the prison population. First, there is the category of all those people who are manifestly different from the average healthy person, especially as regards psychological health. Second, regrettably, there is an ever increasing population of young offenders. Finally, there is the habitual offender. As concerns the first and the third categories, I fully agree that, apart from prison, the civilized world has not been able to come up with any other better idea. In relation to young offenders, I think we have to seek other means. They commit dangerous offenses mainly against life and limb, and thus, society will not tolerate a very liberal policy toward these offenders. It has become manifest that the present penal system is failing, and not only in Poland. Every attempt to expand the range of penal sanctions is timely and badly needed, especially now with the continuing work on the reform of the criminal law. My next reflection from the other side of the judges' bench, so to say, is that we fail to prepare our judiciary to fully understand the implications of sentencing. The type of judge who is a generalist is not meeting modern demands. Court law is now such a developed branch that 2 years of professional training can only give a very rudimentary idea of it. We have to consider specialization. It has to come much earlier, and one of the elements for all those who want to specialize in criminal sentencing should be a knowledge of prisons.

[Ordynski] What kind of people did you meet during your last year in office? Did you find them a help or a hindrance?

[Sokora] My arrival in office was preceded by a great wave of criticism of our sentencing and prison system. I thus arrived determined to keenly observe the adaptability of my staff to the anticipated changes. Here I was pleasantly surprised on two counts. First, it transpired that in Poland we have a relatively modern prison system. My opinion was borne out later through my contacts with the Eastern and Western prison systems. We are comfortably within the main European standards as concerns such areas as prison work and education, specialist health services, anti-drug, anti-alcohol, and other deviation therapies. There are many people in our prison service who really know what they are doing. This was a positive surprise. But the years of overpopulation in prisons have caused part of the prison staffs to adopt a jail warder tendency.

[Ordynski] The promise you made a year ago when you took office seems to be materializing, namely, on 1 October new regulations on the implementation of the prison penalty and temporary detention will come into force. What will this change in the field of penology?

[Sokora] Their main characteristic is that they are imbued with a humanistic and rehabilitative approach in relation to imprisonment, with a corresponding reduction of what we call rigor. This will take the form of increased individualization of methods and means of social rehabilitation—reducing the effects of isolation through the extension of possible contacts with other prisoners and the outside world, especially the prisoner's family, and the improvement of living conditions by abandoning the practice of calculating prison living areas by the use of cubic measurements, and implementing square area measurements instead (3 square meters—the norm; 4 square meters—for women). We shall try to improve prisoners' material conditions by allowing them a higher personal expenses allowance and offering them the possibility of investing their savings. Also, we shall address the prisoner as citizen, abandon the practice of having the senior cell inmate make regular reports, and permit prisoners to form themselves into sports teams or other groups. We are trying to strengthen the presumption of innocence of a suspect in temporary custody by allowing him the right to communicate with his defense lawyer, and in the eventuality that the suspect freely decides to undertake work, he would be entitled to 100 percent of his emoluments. Release from custody would be immediate on the quashing or the expiry of this preventive measure. To increase the effectiveness of the prison system, prison governors will receive guidelines to take a flexible approach to prison regulations, if this does not infringe on the rights or impose further burdens on the prisoners. Finally, something which is also worth mentioning, we shall make it widely available to prisoners to avail themselves of religious facilities and practice their faith quite freely.

[Ordynski] Have the new regulations been favorably received by the experts? Have there been any reservations?

[Sokora] As in all other legal decisions, and not only in the field of penology, we have felt that there is a great mistrust of all those things that the authorities have proposed. The result of this has been the desire to provide for everything by written regulations. Even the prison service, so often criticized in the past, has demanded detailed written regulations that will clear the air. There is another problem, namely, we have no logical order in our provisions. We are uncertain what should go into our constitution, what should go into the criminal code, and finally, what should be included in the statutory regulations to the code. This has been a source of confusion on many occasions. Not everyone who has suggested improvements has been aware of the constraints that are imposed by the legislation of a higher order. Another point, the discussion of the new regulations was mainly undertaken by lawyers. My view now, even as a lawyer by profession, is that the overwhelming part of the criminal code should be elaborated by educationalists. The lawyer always considers things from the practical point of view, whereas penology is a process of education. The rehabilititative part of the code should be worked out by educationalists, psychologists, sociologists, and doctors. The lawyer should then give this a final legal gloss.

During the work on the new regulations, I became aware of a strong desire to include elements of professional supervision even in the decisionmaking process, and the feeling that the sentencing judge had to be present at the decision stage. I consider such thinking to be wrong. The judge must continue to be the arbiter. I agree that penology has to be subject to wide professional and also social controls. I believe that the solution should be along the following lines—the prison service must be able to act freely, and society should have guaranteed rights to know what is happening behind prison walls. In this area, I would like to stress, the regulations are the most far reaching. We are abolishing the prohibition of complaints—the prisoner can freely write wherever he wishes and to inform whomever he wishes of his fate. We shall be open to cooperate with society as represented by all organizational forms. The administration will no longer pick and choose with whom it will cooperate. We want to free the prison system from the secrecy that surrounds it, and to make it answerable to society and the experts. Especially to those people who can contribute something in this area. We have had very few solutions, but a good deal of criticism. I believe that by opening up we will be able to elaborate a model of a novel prison system in Poland.

[Ordynski] The regulations have been criticized for not going far enough.

[Sokora] I think it reflects the current tendency to assume that whatever we may do is too little. I consider, however, that these regulations will be a milestone in the Polish penal system. The great interest shown in our endeavors by prison services of countries in both East and West confirms me in this. This is trully a modern approach to the problem.

Daily on PZPR Position on New Government

AU2508203389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Aug 89 p 8

[Unsigned article: "Position of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party on the Formation of A New Government and the Current Political Situation in Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw 21 (AGERPRES)—PAP agency reports that the 14th plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], which examined the problem of the formation of the new government and the current political situation in the country, took place in Poland's capital city.

The document issued at the end of the plenum shows that the situation in Poland has registered a dangerous deterioration. The political edifice of gradual system changes agreed upon during the "roundtable" talks was shaken. The citizens's tiredness and disappointment with the prolonged economic and political destabilization is on the increase. There are again political strikes in various enterprises. It is necessary to urgently set up a government of broad national trust. Such a government should tackle Poland's real problem, such as the working people's daily life, the revival of the economic life, and the safeguarding of social peace.

The document further says: "The PZPR Central Committee considers that, by agreeing to a coalition without the PZPR, the leadership of the clubs of deputies of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD] violated the understanding on the relationship of political forces in the structure of the Sejm. The distribution of mandates in the Sejm between the PZPR, SZL, SD, and the organizations of lay Catholics and Christians was made proceeding from the premise that this alliance does not have a circumstantial character and cannot be the object of political play. If this agreement—which has often been confirmed by the inter-action commission—fails, the initiators of the dissolution of the previous coalition will bear the historic responsibility for missing the chance of a nonconflictual transition to the stage of a new economic and political order. The road of confrontation with the PZPR cannot serve Poland's interests."

The document then states that the PZPR counts on a continuation of the coalition with the ZSL and SD, thus staying faithful to the ideals of the "roundtable" and the agreements reached. At the beginning of the eighties, this cooperation was the driving force behind the increased role of the ZSL and SD in the exertion of the state power. In order to achieve a broad social understanding, which can shoulder the burden of implementing necessary reforms, the document says that the PZPR does not exclude interaction with "Solidarity."

The document further says: "The PZPR representation in the new government must be in accordance with its political and state potential. Otherwise, we will not be able to assume common responsibility for the evolution of events.

"Our condition for supporting the new government is that it harmonizes its programmatic platform with the political structure, something that must happen before the Sejm appoints a chairman of the Council of Ministers. At the same time, we are ready to search for new solutions conducive to an agreement on the issue of the program and cadres."

In conclusion, the document points out: "Poland must remain, from an economic and military viewpoint, a real link within CEMA and the Warsaw Pact. For several decades, our participation in the Warsaw Pact has been the guarantee of national security."

Minister Duma Comments on Foreign Policy

AU2508142889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1146 GMT 25 Aug 89

["Romania: A Dynamic, Principled Foreign Policy, of Peace and Broad International Collaboration—by Aurel Duma, Minister Secretary of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/08/1989—Romania's international activity offers today the image of a particularly forceful, ample and original demarche consistently directed toward the development of relations of broad collaboration with all the states in the world, irrespective of social system, toward the settlement of the great problems confronting mankind in a new, democratic way.

In substantiating the programmatic orientations and directions of actions of the Romanian party and state in the international field, Nicolae Ceausescu always starts from the interdependence and dialectical unity between the home and foreign policy, from the scientific and realistic analysis of the great mutations in the balance of forces, of the processes, tendencies and contradictions in the world arena.

Giving expression to this deeply scientific analysis, of a high theoretical and practical value, which also represents a fundamental guideline of action, Romania has asserted itself as a particularly active promoter of international dialogue, of the policy of detente and collaboration, of developing new, democratic relations with all the states of the world irrespective of social system. In the view of Romania the expansion of collaboration and work-together between countries and peoples in the most diverse spheres of activity is a basic necessity of the present-day world, a demand imposed by the fast progress of science and technology, by the deepening of political and economic interdependences. Starting from this fundamental truth, Romania has considered that the expansion of international cooperation, development of the links of collaboration and cooperation become viable and make an effective contribution to the progress of each nation only if interstate relations are grounded

firmly on the principles of fully equal rights, strict observance of national independence and sovereignty, mutual advantage, noninterference in domestic affairs, non-recourse to threat or use of force. Permanently underlining the universal values of these principles, the only lasting basis of a fruitful cooperation between states, constantly working for their acknowledgement and generalization in the whole international life, Romania developed and develops a vast action of expanding its relations with states on all meridians, irrespective of their size, sociopolitical or economic system. Highly significant and efficient in this respect were the frequent summit contacts, eloquent expression of Romania's foreign policy, of its enhanced commitment to the evolution of the entire political and economic life. The over 250 visits paid by President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu to numerous countries in all continents, as well as the meetings and talks Romania's president had in Bucharest with more than 300 heads of state and government of various countries of the world decisively helped the dynamization and multilateral expansion of Romania's links of cooperation in the political, economic, technical-scientific and cultural domains, as well as in the diverse sphere of international life.

President Nicolae Ceausescu has also made a decisive contribution to the creation of the political-juridical instruments of the collaboration with other states, to its grounding on solid and durable foundations, on the principles of fully equal rights and reciprocal benefit. The numerous treaties, joint declarations or accords on cooperation signed on the occasion of his visits, of the talks he had with other heads of state go down as an essential contribution to the stable development of Romania's links with the other countries and peoples, to the promotion of peace and detente, of the norms of law and legality in the contemporary world.

All this has ensured Romania a vast network of bilateral relations, which conferred on the country's foreign relations dimensions never reached in the past. Romania now has political, economic, cultural and technical-scientific relations with 155 states in all continents, as against only 16 in 1945 and 67 in 1965. Significant is the "new quality" of these relations, deriving from their strong, multilateral deepening and their firm grounding on really new and democratic principles. Strict observance of the principles of relations between free, independent and sovereign states, of the inalienable right of each state to choose the path of its own development represents the cornerstone of the ample demarche undertaken by Romania in order to step up collaboration and work-together with all the world's states, to establish an irreversible climate of peace, detente, security and understanding in the world.

Romania has paid particular attention to the multilateral development of relations with all socialist states, starting from their common social system, ideology and goals, from the demands of progress and peace in the world. Working for the continuous strengthening of the unity and collaboration of the socialist countries, Romania considers that they are called to offer an example of new relations in the world arena through the establishment and development of new-type relations based on strict observance of national independence and sovereignty, mutual advantage and assistance. Built on such bases, the strengthening of the work-together, solidarity and unity of the socialist countries represents, in Romania's view, an element of important and necessary favourable influence in various fields: in the socialist construction in each country, in the enhancement of the prestige of socialism worldwide, the building of a durable edifice of peace, security and international understanding.

In the same context, we should mention Romania's active participation in the multilateral economic and technical-scientific cooperation within the CMEA, a framework in which it works for the development and improvement of the activity of this organization, considering that the implementation of the adopted programmes will have to result in the consolidation of cooperation in various spheres of the economy, to the resolution, through concerted efforts, of problems that are highly important to the socio-economic progress of the member-countries.

Romania has consistently and firmly worked for closer links of friendship, collaboration and solidarity with the developing and the nonaligned states, for the attainment of their common goals of socio-economic progress, of equity and welfare. Eradication of underdevelopment, the building of a new international economic order, the profound democratization of international relations and the ensurance of the free and independent advance of those countries represent in the view of Romania, of President Nicolae Ceausescu as many directions of action and common aspirations of the developing and the nonaligned states, as many desiderata that require the cooperation and the full unity of their efforts. This orientation ensures the developing and the nonaligned countries a distinct place in the Romanian foreign policy, in the consistent demarches and actions aimed at the promotion of fruitful international collaboration.

At the same time, on the basis and in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence in the present epoch, Romania expanded its links of friendship and collaboration with all the other states in the world, the developed capitalist states included. Without denying the objective realities and the contradictions existing in the world, Romania considers that the vital imperative of peace, of ensuring the propitious framework for the progress of all peoples, for the implementation of their socioeconomic development programmes stringently requires cooperation and work-together, development of constructive relations among all states, understanding and mutual trust.

Romania's concern with expanding and deepening its relations with the other states of the world is doubled by the special quality of its constructive involvement in the debate and solution of all of the epoch's major problems. By its innovating concepts, proposals and ideas, by its

initiatives. Romania has affirmed itself in the world as one of the most active factors in the struggle for peace and disarmament, for a new international policy of the kind that may assure the free, democratic development of any people, in keeping with its own will and aspirations, the peaceful progress of all mankind. Romania has most forcefully emphasized all the time the vital imperative of defending and strengthening peace mankind's worthiest asset. The many threats hovering over humanity call for a new approach to the problems of peace and war, the party general secretary stresses, for the development of clear awareness that a new world conflagration in the current conditions of overimproved weapons in states' arsenals is logically impossible. Hence, the historical necessity for freeing human life of the use of force, generally of confrontation, for building relations of active peaceful coexistence among all countries and peoples, for replacing the arms buildup policy with peaceful cooperation and competition between states having different social systems. Especially as enormous stockpiles of arms, chiefly nuclear, which can destroy mankind many times over have been built up, as the quantitative and qualitative arms race has continued, as gaps, distortions and disparities in the world economy have deepened and other problems have been left pending, the international situation still remains highly complex and strained.

In spite of several recent steps toward detente and improvement of the international climate, the peoples' life and prospects of progress still continue to be threatened. That is why more efforts should be mounted for working a radical change in international life, for firmly promoting a new way of thinking and action at a world level which should ensure the triumph of a really new, democratic policy of disarmament, peace and free development of each nation.

Faithful to its peace policy, Romania has offered the international community a complex, comprehensive and integrated programme of disarmament, with complete phased-out elimination of nuclear arms before the year 2000 in the focus, stipulating, in close association with this goal, also firm measures for the prohibition and elimination of chemical and other arms of mass destruction, and drastic cuts in the troop-strength, conventional armaments and military budgets of states. Romania, which welcomed the Soviet-American INF treaty of December 1987, believes that that initial step toward disarmament should be followed by further agreements and understandings so that the two superpowers' strategic arsenals will be cut down to half, Europe and the world will in the long run be completely delivered from all nuclear arms, nuclear weapons tests will be forbidden, actions aimed at the militarization of space will be ended and space will be used for peaceful purposes alone, for the human benefit.

Romania has firmly demanded that the force-based politics of nuclear deterrence should be abandoned, and declared against the modernization of short-range nuclear forces. If modernization is achieved, the destructive capability of these weapons will be greatly increased which will further enhance the perils threatening the peoples in the European continent and the world over. Taking action constantly for an end to the aberrant arms race and transition to disarmament, chiefly nuclear disarmament, Romania has evidenced the dialectical relationship between such measures and the ensurance of resources for mankind's progress, so much necessary in an international context characterized by worsening economic and social problems in a number of states, and continuous aggravation of the dramatic situation of developing countries which make up over two-thirds of the world. Romania's proposal for cuts in the military expenses of states, by at least 50 percent in an initial stage, and utilization of the funds released in the process to solve the problem confronting the countries operating those reductions and to aid developing countries in their effort for socio-economic progress integrates into the above-mentioned objective correlation.

In the context, Romania has granted special heed, materialized in a unanimously recognized continuity of theoretical and practical contributions, of ideas, specific initiatives and actions, to the achievement of a sound system of security and cooperation in Europe home to the biggest concentration of nuclear and conventional weaponry in the world, to the contemporary world's two principal military and political alliances. Permanently speaking up against the continent's division into political-military and economic groups, for a united Europe of peace, security and collaboration, in conditions of diversity of existing social systems, of full observance of national independence and sovereignty, Romania emphasizes the basic role of disarmament as the sole, real and viable support of European security, of ensuring cooperation in most diverse areas between all the nations on the continent.

Analyzing the European problems in all their complex dimensions, Romania has constantly been an active promoter of cooperation with the other states participating in the all-European process in the economic, technical-scientific, cultural, humanitarian and other fields, considering that this cooperation should develop in keeping with the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, and facilitate the progress and well-being of all the nations in the continent. It al made known clearly its opposition to attempts to di t the CSCE process from its original goals, to tendencies of creating mechanisms with supernational prerogatives which break up the ground for interference in the domestic affairs of states and are in conflict with the free, sovereign and independent self-affirmation of all the European nations.

Romania is determined to make its full contribution and multiply its effort with a view to removing all obstacles and restrictions in the path of broader cooperation between the states in the continent, to increasing trust and security, to raising a Europe united

in the diversity of its social systems, of the philosophical and political beliefs, of the specific aspirations and traditions of each nation.

On the current backdrop, Romania holds that a tough riposte should be given to neo-fascist and rightist organizations in various European states which have become more active, to anti-semitic, chauvinist-nationalist displays and propaganda, to acts instigating a revision of frontiers, which are all flatly at odds with the norms contained in the Helsinki Final Act, with the demands of peace and detente in Europe and all around the world.

In the spirit of its foreign-policy orientations, of security building and peace in Europe, Romania has been acting in remarkable consistency for the development of biand multilateral collaboration between the Balkan states, for the transformation of the Balkans, a region whose influence upon European and international evolutions is widely admited, into a zone of good neighbourliness and peaceful cooperation, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, of foreign military bases. Romania hopes that the constructive process of the multilateral political and economic meetings of the past few years should continue and be deepened in order to help improve the climate in the region, to contribute to the convening, in Bucharest, of the Balkan summit, as a new, higher stage of regional cooperation.

As is known, Romania, faithful to such an option, is also supportive of the creation of similar zones in central and northern Europe, and in other regions of the globe too, as part and parcel of the general struggle for peace and disarmament.

The notably comprehensive picture of Romania's international activity is tellingly complemented by its consistent position and action for categorical elimination of the use and threat of force in international life, for the exclusively peaceful, political settlement of any conflict or dispute among states. A major requirement of the present because of peace's indivisibility and of ever tighter global interdependences, the path of dialogue and negotiations is seen by Romania as the only viable, rational alternative to the immense risks posed by a nuclear catastrophe having irreparable effects, to the huge damage and enormous human casualties that war and military confrontations inflict on those involved in fighting. At a theoretical and practical level, by widely notorious actions and initiatives, Romania has been carrying on a sustained activity so that the method of negotiations will be recognized and strike ground as a norm of universal conduct in the settlement of all present-day conflicts and disputes through exclusively pacific, political means. Faithful to this principled stand, it has declared and acted in every circumstance for a just and enduring comprehensive political solution in the Middle East a dangerous hotbed of tension, strongly believing that the best avenue is provided by a UN international peace conference in which all the sides concerned, including the new Palestinian State and Israel, as well as the Security Council permanent members, should take part. In the same sense, it militates and acts for the exclusively peaceful, political solution via constructive negotiations, of all the other conflicts and disputes in various regions of the world.

The vital necessity of eliminating underdevelopment and gaps between rich and poor countries, of firm transition to creating a new, more just and equitable world economic order also derives, in Romania's view, from the stringent requirement for a radical improvement of the international situation for the good of peace, of mankind's peaceful development. Considering that this problem is as acute as the essential imperative for disarmament, Romania most strongly emphasizes the role of concerted action at a global level, the purpose being to revert the current negative trends, find solutions to the serious problem of the developing countries' foreign debt, restructure the international financial-monetary system, and contribute to the achievement of really new economic relations and fully equitable cooperation between countries and peoples, of the kind that may facilitate more rapid progress in the developing world, as well as mankind's balanced development which should end the poor countries' plundering and domination by big international monopolies and banks. To this end, Romania has been militating consistently for undelayed steps toward global negotiations, toward a UN international conference in which developing and developed countries should take part and adopt the current critical situation. From this angle, action for a new economic order acquires the significance of an act of international justice, having far-reaching implications on the peaceful future, security and balanced development of all peoples.

In Romania's view, a basic requisite for getting out of the current negative international situation lies in deep democratization of all political and economic life, in creating the conditions in which all states, first of all small and medium-sized countries, developing and non-aligned countries could partake, on a fully equal footing, of the constructive debate and solution of the major problems confronting the contemporary world. The very nature of the political, economic and social problems in our age does not allow of their being solved by two superpowers alone or by a limited group of states; on the contrary, the democratic, enduring settlement of these problems demands the involvement of small and medium-sized countries as they are straightly interested in a policy of peace, independence and wide collaboration.

In light of the same objectives, Romania declares for a greater role and efficiency of the UN, of other international organizations and bodies in the adoption, with the participation of all states, of democratic new solutions in the sense of peace, detente and understanding in the world.

Although the international situation still remains highly complex and grave, Romania's foreign policy is filled with confidence in the peoples' combined force, in their power of changing the path of events and ensuring the

triumph of the policy of peace and disarmament, of independence and progress of all nations.

Ceausescu Issues Order of Day on National Day

AU2808132989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Aug 89 p 1

["Order of the Day Issued by the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of the Socialist Republic of Romania" signed by Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's National Day—23 August]

[Text] Comrade soldiers, enlisted men, warrant officers, noncommissioned officers, officers, and generals: On 23 August this year we celebrate the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation—the culmination of the millenium-old struggle of the Romanian people against foreign invaders and for the defense of the national individual, freedom, and independence; this event is a milestone in Romania's history, which opened up the path for great revolutionary changes in our homeland, eliminated imperialist domination forever, and ensured the Romanian people's complete sovereignty, independence, and freedom.

The glorious anniversary of 23 August is taking place under conditions in which all our people, closely united around the Romanian Communist Party, which is the leading political force of our nation, are carrying out a intensive activity to implement the homeland's plans and programs for socioeconomic development and are determined to obtain new and great victories on the road of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and of raising Romania to ever higher peaks of civilization and progress.

In the 45 years that have passed since the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and particularly after the Ninth Congress of our party—which marked a radical turning point in the activity of our party and in the whole work of socialist construction—the Romanian people, under the leadership of our Communist Party, have obtained outstanding successes in the socioeconomic development of our country, in the marked development of production forces, industry, agriculture, and the other branches of our national economy, in increasing national income, and in improving the material and cultural well-being. This year we have completely eliminated our foreign debts, which proves the potential of our economy and enables us to ensure our homeland's complete economic and political independence.

In all these years, the socialist system, which we are successfully establishing in our homeland, has proved its strength and durability and enabled Romania to change from a poorly developed agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian country in the full swing of progress, on the basis of the latest discoveries in science, technology, and human knowledge.

On the anniversary of the historical victory of August 1944, we pay ardent homage to communists and to revolutionary and antifascist patriots, and to all those who, under the leadership of the party, boldly fought with selflessness and a spirit of sacrifice, for the cause of freedom and independence of our homeland and contributed to the magnificent historical victory of August 1944.

We pay tribute to and we honor the heroism and courage of the soldiers in the Romanian Army, who, at the call of the party, turned arms against the Hitlerite troops and shed their blood for the complete liberation of our homeland's territory from the Hitlerite-Horthy domination and then for the liberation of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and of a part of Austria, until the final victory over Nazi Germany.

We also pay homage to the memory of the Soviet soldiers, who made the greatest sacrifice in the struggle against Hitlerite Germany as well as to all the soldiers in the other countries of the anti-Hitlerist coalition, the partisans, and antifascist fighters everywhere, who contributed to the defeat of fascism.

The Romanian people celebrate the great National Day of 23 August with determination to obtain increasingly important successes for the 14th RCP Congress, which will open up new and bright prospects for Romania's progress and unflinching advancement on the path of socialism and communism. The documents of the congress, which have been extensively discussed by the whole party and people, establish the future guidelines for the development of the Romanian society up to the years 2000-2010, and establish the directions for actions aimed at improving the relations of production and all social relations, at strengthening the workers revolutionary democracy, and at achieving a new quality in the work and life of our whole nation.

Together with our whole nation and with all the working people, the soldiers of our army actively participate in the great work of building socialism in our country and of defending and consolidating the great revolutionary achievements and transformations that have been carried out in our homeland in the years of socialism.

Continuing and developing their rich traditions and constantly perfecting their military and political training, our army today is valued and honored by our whole nation as an army deeply devoted to the cause of socialism, progress, and the prosperity of our homeland, that is always ready, under all circumstances, to fulfill their basic mission to defend the supreme achievements of our nation and Romania's independence, sovereignty, and integrity. The soldiers of our army actively participate in the great constructive effort of our whole nation, thus they contribute to the construction of wonderful establishments of our peaceful work, which forever, over the centuries, will stand erect as proof of the creative capacity of our people, who have become completely free and masters of their destinies.

Likewise, we value the work, of self-denial and devotion, carried out by all military personnel, the fighters of the patriotic guards, and young people in the units of training for the defense of our homeland, aimed at shaping them into citizens with a high political awareness, thoroughly trained, and always ready to become bold and fearless defenders of the wonderful revolutionary achievements of our people.

Romania has always fought and continues to fight strongly for disarmament, primarily for nuclear disarmament, for the dismantling of military blocks, and for a world free of weapons and wars, a world of peace and cooperation. However, taking into consideration the current international circumstances, when we continue to witness an imperialist policy of domination and interference in domestic affairs, which maintains the danger of war, our party and state will continue, also in the future, to attach greatest attention to strengthening our country's defense capability, to appropriately training our Armed Forces, and to supplying our army with everything necessary for the fulfillment of their mission.

On the occasion of our great national holiday, I convey warmest congratulations to all the military personnel of our Armed Forces, to the fighters of patriotic guards, to the members of youth detachments, and to all other people, and I wish them new and increasingly greater successes in all their activity!

You are proud of being the sons of a free and independent country, always showing a high spirit of patriotic responsibility, and enriching through new honorable actions, the glorious traditions of our forefathers, work with utmost determination and vigor to complete your comprehensive training to become trustworthy defenders of our ancient homeland and of the revolutionary, socialist achievements of the Romanian people!

Together with our whole nation, work for the unflinching implementation of the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state and meet the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party with the best results in the fulfillment of your tasks!

Serve with self-denial and devotion the cause of the party, of freedom, independence, and sovereignty of our homeland, the well-being and happiness of our people, and the noble ideals of socialism and peace!

In honor of the 45th anniversary of the revolution for social and national liberation of our homeland

I order:

On 23 August, there will be a 21-gun salute in Bucharest.

Long live the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation in Romania!
Long live the Romanian Communist Party—the leading political force of our socialist society! Long live and flourish our dear homeland the Socialist Republic of Romania!

Nicolae Ceausescu, supreme commander of the Armed Forces of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Leaders Send Ceausescu Greetings on National Day

U.S. President Bush Cables

AU2808204189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Aug 89 p 4

[Telegram from U.S. President George Bush to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

On Romania's national holiday, I would like to extend best wishes for peace, prosperity, and personal achievements to all Romanians, on behalf of the American people.

Sincerely, George Bush

From Poland's Jaruzelski

AU2808175989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Aug 89 p 4

[Telegram from Wojciech Jaruzelski, President of the Polish People's Republic to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

Esteemed Comrade President:

On the 45th jubilee anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, we extend best wishes and congratulations to the Romanian people and yourself personally.

I note with true satisfaction that the traditional relations of friendship and empathy between our peoples have consolidated and developed comprehensively in the past 45 years, on the basis of important social changes that have taken place in the two countries.

We follow with esteem and regard the Romanian people's creative work, which adds new achievements to the patrimony of the socialist state.

I express the desire for Polish-Romanian relations to develop successfully in all fields of our bilateral cooperation and in the sphere of our comprehensive obligations within the alliance, in accordance with the vital interests of both peoples and in the name of international cooperation and the strengthening of security and peace.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic

PZPR's Rakowski Sends Message

AU2808135789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 89 p 5

[Telegram by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and President of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu:

On the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, the National Day of the Socialist Republic of Romania, we extend cordial greetings and best wishes to the fraternal Romanian people, the RCP Central Committee, and all Communists in Romania, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and all our party members.

We, the Polish Communists, highly assess the results obtained in the socialist construction in your country, under the leadership of the RCP.

The cooperation between our party to date has contributed to intensifying the pace of bilateral relations and of ties in other spheres, including in economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation.

We are convinced that the traditional friendship and cooperation between the PZPR and the RCP—which has been enriched by new contents and forms, in accordance with the requirements of the current socialist construction stage and of other developments in the contemporary world—will further strengthen and expand on manifold planes, in the interest of both fraternal parties and of Socialist Poland and Socialist Romania.

We wish you and the Romanian Communists and people new successes for the benefit of the workers class and all working people.

Please also accept our best wishes for your personal health and prosperity.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee

From SFRY President Drnovsek

AU2808175589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Aug 89 p 4

[Telegram from Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

On the National Day of the Socialist Republic of Romania, I extend cordial congratulations to you, the State Council, and the friendly Romanian people, on behalf of the SFRY Presidium and myself personally.

On this occasion, too, I would like to emphasize that we attach great importance to developing relations of good-neighborliness between our countries, for the benefit of our nations and in the interest of strengthening cooperation and understanding in the Balkans.

Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidium

LCY's Pancevski Cables

AU2908155989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 89 p 5

[Telegram from Milan Pancevski, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP],

Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu:

On the national holiday of the Socialist Republic of Romania, I extend to you, the RCP Central Committee, and the Communists and working people of the Socialist Republic of Romania, cordial congratulations and best wishes for your country's successful development and prosperity.

I take this opportunity to express the desire that the relations and cooperation between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and the RCP and between our neighborly countries should further develop, to the benefit of our peoples and of peace and social progress.

Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium

Albania's Alia Sends Message

AU2908155689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 89 p 5

[Telegram from Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

On the 45th jubilee anniversary of Romania's National Day, we extend to you, and through you, to the Romanian people, cordial greetings and best wishes for success in promoting the fatherland's development, progress, and prosperity, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and ourselves personally. We would like the friendly

relations and cooperation between our two countries to further develop, in the mutual interest of our peoples and of peace and security in our region.

Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

Greek Communist Party Cables

AU2908155189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 89 p 5

[Telegram from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP],

Dear Comrades:

On the Romanian people's national holiday, the 45th anniversary of your country's liberation from the fascist yoke, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece [KKE] extends to you cordial congratulations and best wishes.

The 23 August 1944 revolution paved the way for profound political and socioeconomic changes in the Romanian people's life.

We wish the Romanian Communists and the entire workers class success in the socialist construction in your country. We express the conviction that the relations of friendship, cooperation, and solidarity between the KKE and the RCP will continue to strengthen and expand, to the benefit of the peoples of the two countries and in the interest of peace and socialism.

The KKE Central Committee

From Spanish Communists

AU2908155089 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 89 p 5

[Telegram from Spanish Communist leaders Dolores Ibarruri and Julio Anguita Gonzalez to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party,

On the 45th anniversary of the National Day of the Socialist Republic of Romania, we extend warm congratulations to you, Comrade Secretary General, and to the Romanian party and people, and we wish you new success in building a Socialist Romania.

Dolores Ibarruri, president of the Communist Party of Spain, Julio Anguita Gonzalez, general secretary of the Communist Party of Spain

Portuguese Communists Cable

AU3008115089 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 89 p 5

[Telegram from the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP],

Dear Comrades:

On the 45th anniversary of the liberation, the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party [PCP] extends fraternal greetings from the Portuguese Communists to the RCP Central Committee and, through it, to the Romanian Communists and people.

Some 45 years ago, the Romanian workers class and people have embarked, under the leadership of the RCP, upon the road of building a new society, based on the ideas of progress and social justice, a society devoid of man's exploitation by man. Romania, once a backward country, is currently scoring successes in socialist construction and has become a factor for peace and social progress in Europe and throughout the world. At the same time, life has shown that the process of building the new society is not free of problems, contradictions, and difficulties. Of course, the tasks set for themselves by the Romanian Communists on the eve of the 14th RCP Congress are most exacting. The Portuguese Communists wish you complete success in the fulfillment of these tasks, to the benefit of the Romanian people, of the international communist movement, and of all forces advocating social progress and peace, and in the interest of strengthening socialism and achieving the ideals of freedom of the workers class throughout the world.

The roads to socialism are most diverse. In Portugal, on the eve of the 21st century, the PCP is struggling for an advanced democracy, which should take into account the achievements and values of the April 1974 Revolution. The PCP is acting to build a socialist society, in accordance with Portugal's traditions and realities and with the experience and aspirations of the Portuguese workers class and people. At the same time, we deem it absolutely necessary to acquaint ourselves with and creatively apply the world revolutionary experience.

While being a patriotic party, the PCP is also a profoundly internationalist party, and struggles for cooperation among all communist parties, for the unity of the international communist and workers movement, and for friendship and cooperation among all forces advocating social progress, national independence, democracy and peace.

Renewing our wishes for greatest success in the activity of Romanian Communists and people aimed a building socialism, we express our desire to strengthen relations of friendship and solidarity between the PCP and RCP,

to the benefit of the two peoples and countries and in the interest of the ideals of socialism and peace.

The PCP Central Committee

Libya's Al-Qadhdhafi Greetings

AU2808190889 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Aug 89 p 4

[Telegram from Libyan President Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

On the national holiday of your friendly country, I take pleasure in extending to you heartfelt congratulations and best wishes for personal health and happiness, as well as wishes for progress and prosperity to the friendly Romanian people, on my own behalf and on behalf of the people of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Great 1 September Revolution of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriah

From Syria's Al-Asad

AU2908155389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 89 p 5

[Telegram from Hafiz al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic, to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

On liberation day, I take great pleasure in extending cordial congratulations and warm greetings to you and the friendly Romanian people, on behalf of the Syrian people and myself personally.

I express satisfaction with the further development of relations of friendship and cooperation which, we are happy to say, exist between our countries, and I reiterate the hope that these ties will continue to strengthen in the future, on the basis of agreements jointly reached, to the mutual benefit of the two peoples and in the interest of our common struggle for just peace in the world and for international understanding and cooperation.

I take this opportunity to extend to you best wishes for health and long life, as well as wishes for new successes and further prosperity to the Romanian people.

Hafiz al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic

Lebanese Communist Leader Cables

AU3008113789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 89 p 5

[Telegram from George Hawi, general secretary of the Lebanese Communist Party to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

On the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation in the Socialist Republic of Romania, I take great pleasure in extending to you, and through you to the friendly Romanian people, warmest congratulations and comradely wishes for progress and prosperity, in my own behalf and on behalf of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party.

Extending best wishes to the friendly people of Romania, I also take this opportunity to express our profound appreciation and consideration for their heroic struggle in fighting fascism, winning their national independence, and ensuring their social progress and for the eminent role you have played in leading and organizing this struggle.

With comradely greetings,

George Hawi, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party

From Iraqi President Saddam

AU2908154789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 89 p 5

[Telegram from Saddam Husayn, president of the Republic of Iraq to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

On the National Day of the Socialist Republic of Romania, I take great pleasure in extending to you—in the name of Iraq and on my own behalf—warmest congratulations, best wishes for personal health and happiness, and wishes for the Romanian people's further progress and well-being.

May the relations of friendship and cooperation between Iraq and Romania ceaselessly develop and expand.

Saddam Husayn, president of the Republic of Iraq

PLO's 'Arafat Message

AU3008122389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Aug 89 p 5

[Message from PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat to Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

To His Excellency Brother President Nicolae Ceausescu:

On the occasion of the celebration of the 45th anniversary of Romania's independence and freedom, on behalf of the Palestininan state and people, of the PLO, and on my own behalf, I take great pleasure in conveying to you, to your militant party, to your respectful government, and to the friendly Romanian people heartfelt greetings and best, comradely wishes. Likewise, I extend to the friendly Socialist Republic of Romania continuous prosperity, under your wise and bold leadership. On this great national holiday, your people and party recall the great sacrifices that were made to open the path for freedom and independence and to achieve the national goals of economic progress and social well-being.

We believe that, through your wise leadership, clear-sightedness, and victorious policy, you crowned the work of your people and party with a complete success.

I take this opportunity to assure you of our feelings of profound gratitude for your firm attitude and principled solidarity with our people and their just struggle and with the great people's revolt, led by the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, to achieve victory and eliminate the Israeli occupation from their soil, and to reestablish and exercise their inalienable national rights, including the right to return, to self-determination, and to achieving their independent Palestinian state, with its capital in Jerusalem.

On this occasion, I would also like to express our satisfaction and pride with the development of our relations of friendship and cooperation.

We would like to assure you of our determination to develop and consolidate these relations, for the common benefit of our peoples and in the interest of progress, prosperity, and of the establishment of a just and lasting peace and security in the world.

Reiterating our particular thanks, we extend to you, dear Comrade President, wishes for much good health and happiness and complete success in leading your friendly people and your militant party and in fulfilling the goals for development, prosperity, and happiness.

Revolution to victory!

Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine and chairman of the PLO Executive Committee

From Mauritius Communist Leader

AU3008114789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 89 p 5

[Telegram from Leetoraj Chundramun, president of the Communist Party of Mauritius to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

On the anniversary of Romania's liberation, we extend to you personally wishes for many happy years, and to the Romanian people, wishes for peace and prosperity.

Leetoraj Chundramun, president of the Communist Party of Mauritius

Cuba's Castro Sends Message

AU2808180789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Aug 89 p 4

[Telegram from Fidel Castro, president of the Council of State and Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, to President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

To Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

On the 45th anniversary of Romania's revolution of liberation, we extend warmest congratulations and cordial greetings to you, the RCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Government, and the Romanian people, on behalf of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC], the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, and all the Cuban people.

On the anniversary of this important event, we take pleasure in expressing our people's satisfaction with your efforts to promote your socioeconomic development, in accordance with the targets set by the 13th RCP Congress. Allow me to extend to you our heartfelt wishes for new victories in this praiseworthy activity.

Likewise, we highly value the further enhancement of relations of friendship and cooperation between our peoples, parties, and governments, and we express the conviction that these ties will continue to develop, for the benefit of our bilateral relations and as a contribution to the cause of socialism, peace for all countries, and cooperation in the world.

Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the PCC Central Committee and president of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba

Argentine Communist Leader Cables

AU3008114489 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 89 p 5

[Telegram from Patricio Echegaray, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP],

Esteemed Comrades:

We take great pleasure in extending to you fraternal greetings of struggle from the Communists of Argentina, on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation. This event of great importance led to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship of General Antonescu and inaugurated a period of radical changes in the Romanian people's life. It paved the way to the establishment of the revolutionary power, the people's democracy, and later the Socialist Republic.

In the years which have passed since then, the RCP, by uniting all the country's social forces around it, has been the main creator of the profound revolutionary changes that have occurred in all social spheres.

In this light, the coming 14th RCP Congress will establish the guidelines for the country's development in the years 2000-2010, with the ambitious goal of fully achieving the comprehensively developed socialist society.

The RCP is a steady and important promoter of the world struggle for strengthening the policy of peace, reducing nuclear armaments, establishing a new world economic order, and promoting social progress and socialism.

We take pleasure in extending to you our fraternal greetings and we wish you ever greater successes in your activity.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina

Patricio Echegaray, general secretary

From Uruguay Communist Leader

AU2808180189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Aug 89 p 4

[Telegram from Jaime Perez, general secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party,

The Communist Party of Uruguay extends fraternal greetings on the 45th anniversary of Romania's liberation and joins the Romanian people in celebrating this important holiday.

Jaime Perez, general secretary of the Communist Party of Uruguay

PRC Leaders' Message

AU2808155789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Aug 89 p 4

[Messsage from PRC leaders to Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, and to Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Romanian Government, on 23 August, the National Day of Romania]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and to Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

On the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation in Romania, on behalf of the CPC, the Chinese Government, the Chinese people, and on our own behalf, we convey to you, to the RCP, to the Romanian Government, and to the Romanian people heartfelt congratulations and best wishes.

As an inevitable result of the heroic struggle waged by the Romanian people throughout the centuries to defend their national independence and attain social liberation, the armed insurrection on 23 August 1944 was an important event in Romania's history which, starting from that moment, marked the transition of the Romanian people to a completely new era, in which they became masters of their own destinies and made sustained efforts to build the new social system.

After the liberation, particularly in the past 20 years, the Romanian people, under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party headed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have promoted the spirit of independence, relied on their own forces, and devoted all their energy to ensuring the country's prosperity and, by overcoming many difficulties, they have attained outstanding successes in the work of building socialism. The Chinese people highly value and heartily rejoice in all these successes.

In the international arena, Socialist Romania has applied constant and sustained efforts and made a precious contribution to the struggle to establish a new international political and economic order, to achieve general and total disarmament, and to safeguard peace in Europe and in the world.

Throughout the years, in the revolutionary struggle and in the work of building socialism, our parties, countries, and the peoples of China and Romania have always

shown mutual respect and confidence and have assisted each other, forging a deep friendship that has stood the test of time. During the past years, the relations of friendship and cooperation between China and Romania have steadily and constantly developed, through the numerous mutual visits paid by our party and state leaders, and cooperation in the international arena between our countries has continuously improved. We are deeply convinced that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between China and Romania will continue to consolidate and also develop more markedly in the future, in the work of building socialism and safeguarding peace throughout the world.

Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee
Yang Shangkun, president of the People's Republic of China
Wan Li, chairman fo the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China
Li Peng, premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

From Japanese Communist Party

AU2808200389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Aug 89 p 4

[Telegram from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan to the Romanian Communist Party on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP],

Dear Comrades:

On the national holiday of your fatherland, the 45th anniversary of Romania's liberation from the yoke of fascist occupiers, a victory achieved by the people, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan [JCP] extends heartfelt congratulations and greetings of solidarity to the RCP Central Committee, all party members, and the whole Romanian nation.

After liberation, the Romanian people have embarked upon the road of socialist construction, under the leadership of the RCP, and succeeded in turning Romania from a state with a backward economy into an industrial-agrarian country, while promoting a foreign policy based on strict observance of national independence and sovereignty, full equality of rights, and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states.

The JCP wishes the Romanian people ever greater successes in socialist construction, so as to make a contribution—in the current serious international circumstances, which do not inspire one to optimism—to bringing about world peace, primarily to eliminating nuclear weapons, defending the sovereignty and independence of nations, and establishing new and democratic international relations.

We believe that the international communist movement is going through a period of instability, and we are convinced that now, more than ever before, it is necessary to take into consideration the concept and principles of scientific socialism, which contain and sum up the wisdom of all mankind. We believe that only thus can we mobilize the people's efforts to safeguard peace and social progress.

Relations of solidarity and friendship are developing between the JCP and RCP, on the basis of the strict observance of relations between parties. Our parties have jointly initiated various actions aimed at solving the current problems in the world. In recent years, the leaders of our two parties published three joint documents, of which the last one, in April 1987, calls for international cooperation to prevent a nuclear war and eliminate nuclear weapons, and for action to resolve the main problems facing mankind.

We wholeheartedly hope that the relations and cooperation between our two parties will develop further.

The JCP Central Committee

Vietnamese Leaders Cable

AU3008084389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 89 p 5

[Message from Vietnamese leaders to Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, and to Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Romanian Government, on 23 August, the National Day of Romania]

[Text] To Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

On the 45th anniversary of Romania's liberation from the fascist domination, the great national holiday of the fraternal Romanian people, we would like to convey heartfelt greetings to you, to the RCP, the State Council, the Government, and the Romanian people.

Under the favorable internal and international conditions created by the resounding victories of the Soviet Army in the antifascist war, 45 years ago the Romanian people under the leadership of the Communist Party carried out with success the revolution of 23 August 1944, which overthrew the fascist dictatorship, ensured the social and national liberation, and opened up the path for socialist construction. The Vietnamese people sincerely rejoice in the great achievements that the diligent Romanian people, mobilized by the spirit of creative work, have obtained in the work of building socialism, changing Romania from a poorly developed country into a modern industrial-agrarian country, with an advanced culture and science and with a continuously improving material and cultural level.

On this occasion, we extend to the Romanian people wishes for new and increasingly greater successes in implementing the 13th RCP Congress decisions, aimed at building the comprehensively developed socialist society and at ensuring Romania's continuous advancement toward new peaks of progress.

May solidarity, friendship, and cooperation among our parties and governments and between the Romanian and Vietnamese people constantly consolidate and develop, for the benefit of the people in our countries and in the interest of socialism, and peace.

Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee
Vo Chi Cong, president of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam
Do Muoi, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam

DPRK's Kim Il-song Sends Message

AU2808140889 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 89 p 5

[Telegram from DPRK President Kim Il-song to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

On the happy occasion of the 45th anniversary of the victory of the Romanian people's antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, I would like to extend warmest congratulations and fraternal and cordial greetings to you, the RCP Central Committee, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the Romanian people, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK], the DPRK Government, the Korean people, and myself personally.

The 45 years since the victory of the revolution have been a period of historic change, which has radically transformed the face of the country.

Particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, the Romanian people, under your leadership, have embarked upon the road of overall socialist development and have turned their country, which in the past was a poorly developed one, into a strong industrial-agrarian socialist state.

Today Romania is upholding the principles of socialism and is fully proving its boundless vitality as a country with a specific identity and authentic political and economic independence. The Romanian people are further taking dynamic steps along the road of building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

The Korean people highly value the successes scored by the fraternal Romanian people and consider them as common achievements of the socialist forces in the world. The Korean people express steadfast solidarity with your struggle to totally eliminate nuclear weapons and to build a world without wars.

I take this opportunity to extend to you and the Romanian people heartfelt wishes for ever greater success in welcoming the 14th RCP Congress with high political enthusiasm and achievements in work, so as to raise Romania to a new and higher stage of development.

I am convinced that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples will further expand and develop in the common struggle against imperialism and for peace and the victory of socialism and communism.

Kim Il-song, general secretary of the WPK Central Committee and DPRK president

Mongolian Leaders Cable

AU2908154689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 89 p 5

[Telegram from Mongolian leaders Jambyn Batmonh and Dumaagiyn Sodom to President Nicolae Ceausescu on Romania's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

To Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, the Mongolian people, and ourselves personally, we extend cordial congratulatio .s and best wishes to you, the RCP Central Committee, the Council of State, and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the fraternal Romanian people, on Romania's national holiday, Liberation Day.

In the 45 years since then, the Romanian people have wrought profound socioeconomic changes and Romania has gained an everlasting dignified place within the international community.

The Mongolian people rejoice in the fact that the Romanian working people are currently scoring, under the leadership of the Communist Party and through steady work, wonderful successes in solving the new tasks of socialist construction and in accelerating and further intensifying the country's development.

We take this opportunity to express the trust that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the

MPRP and the RCP and between the Mongolian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania will continue to develop and expand, in the interest of our peoples and in the name of the cause of peace and socialism.

On the day of Romania's glorious national holiday, we wish you, dear comrades and all communists and working people in your country, happiness, prosperity, and new successes in your activity, on the eve of the 14th RCP Congress.

Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic

Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic

Further Reportage on Muzevic, Police Case

Belgrade Committee on Slovene 'Lies'

AU2608204589 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 89 p 1

["Stances of the Presidium of the City Committee of the League of Communists Organization in Belgrade on the Statement by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia: Most Brutal Lies Against the Capital of the SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Serbia"]

[Text] At its session on 22 August 1989, the Presidium of the City Committee of the League of Communists Organization of Belgrade, discussed the statement issued by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia.

In connection with this statement, the stances of the Presidium of the City Committee of the League of Communists of Belgrade have been communicated to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The stances of the Presidium of the City Committee of the League of Communists of Belgrade read:

In connection with the traffic offense committed by Comrade Boris Muzevic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia has published a special statement. The statement contains umpteen insinuations and brutal lies at the expense of Belgrade, capital of the SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Serbia. It is evident from the statement by the Belgrade Secretariat for Internal Affairs that Comrade Muzevic committed several offenses. We leave the final judgment on these offenses to the appropriate court organs.

However, we must pose the question of how long a legal party leadership, in this case the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, will continue to widen the split in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and to sow hatred among the Slovene people against the brotherly Serbian people. We also ask how long the same leadership will in words advocate a civilian society and a law-governed state, but in practice behave in a contrary way.

This Is Not the First Time That Hatred Is Fomented From Some Centers in Slovenia

The same leadership made its judgment on Comrade Muzevic's traffic offense without even looking at the report by the Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and ascribed to the incident political significance. Before adopting its conclusions on the Muzevic case, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia did not do what is common courtesy in communications within the League of Communists. It did not find it necessary to phone the City Committee of the League of Communists of Belgrade and to ask for additional information. The comrades behaved as if they belonged to another state. But even in these other states of the civilized world, where opposed parties exist, lies, deceit, and insinuations are not the ways of communication between them.

This is not the first time that lies have been spread against Belgrade and Serbia from some centers in Slovenia and that hatred has been fomented in Slovenia and in Yugoslavia in general. The Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Belgrade recently sent a letter to the Presidium of the Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Ljubljana in connection with the unprecedented article and drawings in PAVLIHA.

On several occasions, the leadership of Slovenia has insinuated that their officials in the federation are insecure—insecure in Belgrade. The conduct by the militia toward Muzevic denies this for the who-knows-what time. A car with a BG [for Belgrade] registration number of six digits [official cars have four-digit numbers] was stopped after an offense.

It is incomprehensible that those who support a law-governed state demand party protection in a situation when such a state is actually functioning. However, they do not demand it when they should. Comrade Muzevic is a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and it is strange that the Slovene League of Communists Presidium is the first to react. In addition, what right has Comrade Muzevic to demand that in traffic, he should be treated as a member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium.

Major Political Damage Inflicted on the League of Communists and Yugoslavia

Such behavior is an essential factor in the anti-Yugoslav campaign emanating from some communities in Slovenia. It started with the attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army, continued with the defense of the counterrevolution by the Albanian separatist nationalists, and ingloriously culminated at the Cankar Hall. Now, on the eve of the nonaligned summit, the attack on Belgrade and Serbia is resumed. Would any leadership in Yugoslavia speak in such a hostile manner about its country on the eve of the greatest international gathering in the history of Yugoslavia and Europe?

On behalf of the Communists, working people, and citizens of Belgrade, we demand that the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia should finally stop the fabrication of lies and slanders, such as has not been heard at Belgrade's expense since Stalin's times. Nobody has the right to poison the Slovene people and other peoples and nationalities with hatred. The latest session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia imposes an obligation.

If somebody in Slovenia does not like Yugoslavia, he should say so openly within the legal political institutions. To search for an excuse in others for one's hatred of Yugoslavia and for one's leaving Yugoslavia is not part of democratic behavior in the modern world. Recently we have had an opportunity to hear that some people in the Slovene leadership threaten a possible walk-out from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress.

We propose that the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee takes a position on the behavior of its member Muzevic and of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, which with its statement intentionally politicized this event and thus inflicted major political damage on the League of Communists and on Yugoslavia.

Detailed Examination Refused

AU2908110189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 89 p 3

[B. P. report: "Medical Examination Carried Out By an Experienced Doctor"]

[Text] We asked Dr Zivorad Obradovic, director of the Institute for Medical Care of the Internal Affairs Workers, whether on the basis of a visual medical examination one can claim with certainty that the militia workers have physically maltreated Boris Muzevic:

On the basis of the doctor's examination and findings about the patient's medical condition one can only assume (and assumption could be very different) and not claim with certainty as to what had happened to Muzevic, Dr Obradovic said. During a medical examination a patient provides anamnestic information which, in addition to the doctor's findings, leads toward establishing a diagnosis.

Boris Muzevic was examined by an experienced doctor who works in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Dr Mirjana Rogosic (whose report I have not read). She suggested to Muzevic that he undergo another more detailed examination. Muzevic refused to do so saying that he will do it in Ljubljana. What is behind this, I do not know, Dr Obradovic said, but Dr Mirjana Rogosic, like other doctors, cannot establish what had caused the scratches, hematoma, and bruises, and how long Muzevic had had them.

Answering the question whether the fact that this institute is a republican institute could result in the report being contradictory, Dr Obradovic said:

The Institute for Medical Care of Internal Affairs Workers is a work organization established by the Serbian Assembly, but is also a Yugoslav institute because it serves the needs of the entire federation (the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Federal Executive Council, and others), and has its medical units all over the country.

DEMOKRACIJA Comments Cited

AU3008082589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Aug 89 p 3

[V. S. report: "Muzevic and Radic"]

[Text] An article on the "Muzevic case" was also published in DEMOKRACIJA, the paper of the Slovene Democratic Alliance (and some other alternative alliances). The first thing that DEMOKRACIJA concludes is that the Belgrade militiamen beat up a senior Slovene party official, Boris Muzevic. It also raises several questions, but does not provide any answers. For instance, DEMOKRACIJA asks: Has this infamous act received such great publicity because of Muzevic's position? Would we react in the same way and would we be disgusted if this had happened to an ordinary Slovene, Croat, or Serb? On several occasions we have heard about the difficulties that the Slovenes have experienced in the capital city. Are these difficulties increasing? Will Belgrade continue to be a safe place for the political work of those that are not from Belgrade? Will anybody—from those who have a low opinion of the Serbian capital of Yugoslavia—compare the latest political violence with the shooting of the Croatian deputy Radic [Stjepan Radic, Croatian Peasant Party leader, assassinated in 1928] in the Belgrade Parliament.

Charges Against Muzevic

AU3008130489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] The Belgrade City Judge for Minor Offenses has been asked to initiate proceedings against Boris Muzevic for misdemeanor offences, while criminal charges against militiaman Petko Gavric have been filed with the appropriate public prosecutor. Gavric is also facing disciplinary action for seriously violating his work duties and work discipline. This is stressed in a statement by the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

On the orders of the republican secretary for internal affairs and after investigating all the facts and circumstances, a commission established that Boris Muzevic committed the serious misdemeanor offense of speeding in a built-up area where the speed limit was 40 km per hour and where, it was established, he was driving at a speed of 90 km per hour. Muzevic did not act in accordance with the demand of the authorized official person that he stop his car and was not in possession of a driver's licence and identity card. Muzevic caused an incident with his conduct, because of which the traffic militia intervened. The militiaman Petko Gavric overstepped his official responsibilities by applying violence and causing Muzevic slight bodily harm, it is stressed in the statement by the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

National Presidency Announces Summit Delegation

AU2908101289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Aug 89 p 1

[TANJUG report: "The Best Attended Summit So Far"]

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Aug—At its session today, chaired by President Janez Drnovsek, the SFRY Presidency discussed the final political and organizational preparations for the convening of the ninth summit of the heads of states or governments of nonaligned countries in Belgrade. Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, briefed the presidency on political preparations, and Dzevad Mujezinovic, member of the Federal Executive Council, on organizational preparations.

The SFRY Presidency concluded that all the preparations were successfully drawing to a close, and that, judging by the announced number of heads of states or governments and other participants planning to attend, this will be the best attended nonaligned summit so far. The session also concluded that the broadest possible consultations have been held with other member countries of the movement concerning the drafts of the final documents, which Yugoslavia had to propose as the host country, and that the orientations contained in these documents were received with full support. Some new suggestions have also been made. All this is in accord with the movement's orientation to modernize itself, the directions of its actions, and further strengthening of democratic relations within the movement. The session also concluded that the platform and political approach of our delegation at the conference were thoroughly discussed within the country and in appropriate organs in the federation, in the republics, and in autonomous provinces. These discussions, in addition to providing useful suggestions, expressed full support for the political approach of our country toward the forthcoming nonaligned summit.

The SFRY Presidency adopted the decision concerning the composition of the Yugoslav delegation which will be headed by President Janez Drnovsek. The delegations will consist of: Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council; Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Suada Muminagic, vice president of the SFRY Assembly; Franc Horvat, federal secretary for foreign economic relations; Aleksandar Simovic, president of the SFRY Assembly Committee for Foreign Policy; and Dragoslav Pejic, Yugoslavia's permanent representative to the United Nations.

'Differences' in Loncar-Malmierca Talks Viewed

AU2908160989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Draft documents of the ninth summit of the nonaligned countries in Belgrade and the method of work of the ministerial meeting preparing the summit have been the main topics of the talks between Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Isidoro Malmierca, Cuban minister of foreign affairs.

Loncar briefed Malmierca on the results of numerous consultations that Yugoslavia, in its role as the host of the summit, has had with the participants, consultations pertaining to the contents of the draft documents and resolutions which are to be adopted at the summit, which will be held 4 to 7 September. The federal secretary pointed out that the above-mentioned drafts had been met with the wide approval of the nonaligned countries, which also took into consideration the need to modernize the work of the movement in the new and more favorable world situation.

In examining these topics, some differences have arisen between this attitude, which dominated among the major nonaligned summit participants, and the Cuban view of the priorities of the Nonaligned Movement. It was agreed that joint efforts should be made before the beginning of the summit in order to overcome the differences in views and to enable the Belgrade summit to work efficiently.

Zagreb Train Engineers Begin Announced Strike

AU3008112489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Zagreb train engineers started their announced strike this morning after their demands for an increase in personal incomes were not accepted. The train engineers are demanding that their pay with all the additions be paid in the dinar equivalent of 1,000 DM and that their work conditions be improved.

Despite the strike, all trains left Zagreb this morning. Train engineers from other sections of the Zagreb railroad transportation enterprise took over the work.

Stari Trg Miners Strike Over Late Salary

LD3008151589 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Work has again stopped in the Trepca mine in Stari Trg last night and this morning. First the miners of the third shift did not go down into the pit, nor did the first shift this morning. The miners, about 350 of them, are calling for their July salary; it is several days late.

GDR's Schuerer Continues Talks With Pregl

AU2908094089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Aug 89 p 5

[ADN report: "GDR and Yugoslavia Discuss Economic Relations"]

[Text] Belgrade (ADN)—On Wednesday [23 August] discussions on the development and further shaping of the economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the SFRY to 1995 started in Belgrade. Participants in the planning consultations are

representatives of the GDR and SFRY planning, economic, and foreign trade organs. The consultations are chaired by Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission, and Zivko Pregl, first deputy chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Council. Both sides proceed on the basis of the joint guidelines given by the highest representatives of the GDR and the SFRY for the further development of economic and scientific cooperation and from long-term programs of cooperation through the year 2,000, which they signed in December 1988. They noted that comprehensive and constructive work has been carried out to expand the economic relations.

This is reflected in the implementation of the long-term trade agreement for the 1986-90 period, and the general contracts in the fields of aluminum, zinc, copper, and textile pulp; of the contract on the joint production of titanium dioxide; as well as of the long-term contracts and agreements on industrial cooperation, specialization, and joint projects. With scientific-technological cooperation, particularly within the framework of direct relations between combines, enterprises, and research institutions, bases have been established to use the potential available in the two countries more efficiently during the 1991-95 period and to overcome existing barriers. In this connection, measures for the further shaping of mutual deliveries were discussed, which are of particular importance for safeguarding raw materials, for intensification and efficiency of the production processes, and for the social area.

During the meeting, an exchange of views took place on the developments in the two countries on the basis of the decisions of the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and of the 13th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. Gerhard Schuerer explained the policy for the benefit of the people, which is characterized by continuity and renewal. It also proves to be a solid foundation for the preparations of the 12th SED Congress. Zivko Pregl reported on the work of the party and state organs as well as of the working people in his country to implement the LCY decisions.

Tasks and views on management and planning in the national economies of the GDR and the SFRY were exchanged. Particular interest was accorded the GDR's experiences—how the combines and enterprises live up to their increased responsibility for the national economic reproduction process.

The meeting was attended by Horst Tschanter, deputy chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, and Vojislav Knezevic, director general of the SFRY Federal Social Planning Institute. Also present was Siegfried Bock, GDR ambassador to the SFRY.

More on Popit Resignation From LC of Slovenia

Ljubljana Radio Comments

AU2908163189 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Igor Savic commentary]

[Text] France Popit is a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia—the Central Committee that after the congress 3 years ago, assumed the very difficult task of finalizing the past period of history and of joining in the creation of socialism according to the measure of man. However, France Popit is not an equal among others in the leadership of the League of Communists of Slovenia. He is a man who at the head of this organization and during the previous period of the state presidency, put his mark on an entire period of history. Some have a happy memory of this period, but others consider the word, darkness, as a more appropriate adjective to denote it.

It is primarily for this reason that his letter to the Central Committee, or to put it better, his resignation from the Central Committee, will not only provoke many commentaries and thoughts, but also act as an incentive to quite definite political processes in Slovenia and Yugoslavia.

Before we begin thinking about the content of the letter, the question arises as to why France Popit mainly kept silent at the Central Committee sessions over the past 3 years when this body either confirmed the general direction of the renewal or discussed specific questions. Popit was not active even in those discussions that directly concerned the questions he raises in the letter—for instance the role of a member as a subject in the organization. Does not this fact illuminate the letter from a somewhat different side, which is certainly less flattering to Popit?

Regardless of what the answer to this question could be, it is proper that the chief attention at the session of the Central Committee on 8 September should be focused on the content and the arguments in the letter. The chief point of the letter is obviously a sharp criticism of the present Presidium and Milan Kucan at its head, and of course of the entire Central Committee that supports this Presidium. The renewal that this presidency conducts, or to use France Popit's words, the manner of the shaping of the execution of the renewal, on the one hand opens the way to a number of negative tendencies in societies, including Milosevic's concept of life in Yugoslavia, and on the other hand—as Popit's criticism may be understood—it itself means a negative and harmful social occurrence in some respects.

The first argument that Popit cites in support of his assertions is a reproach of a leadership attitude [liderstvo] and a neglect of the role of members as subjects in the organization. One cannot avoid thinking about historical cynicism in this connection. It is precisely the

present policy that has succeeded in further opening up the door to internal party democracy; this door was strictly closed over the past 20 years.

The reproach of intolerance toward those who think differently—for instance toward the leftist intellectuals represented by Dr Vojan Rus at the past session of the Central Committee—is also interesting. It is precisely the present Central Committee that has broached the question of a majority and a minority in the League of Communists and in this connection, adopted stances that make a normal inter-party dialogue possible without disqualifications and expulsions familiar in Popit's period.

It is precisely in connection with this argument that Popit's letter does not mean the beginning of an open confrontation of two different political concepts which so far have been hidden under one hat in Slovenia. In contrast to the Central Committee Presidium, which, to quote Popit, vehemently defends ideological and political pluralism, the said group—the next Central Committee session may show who its members are—offers a different, I quote again, integral concept of the renewal of the League of Communists of Slovenia.

The said arguments, and others contained in the letter, certainly pose very serious and topical questions. Therefore they demand a discussion in which the confrontation of the viewpoints and the weighing of the arguments and evidence for the assertions will be as public and democratic as possible and available to all League of Communists members, or rather all the people of Slovenia, for their own consideration.

Precisely in this sense, Popit's letter may be a challenge to increasing the strength of the League of Communists, but this is a strength emanating from the perceptions gained through a conflict of opinions and a weighing of arguments, and not through a monolithic spirit, obedience, and disciplining. The letter is thus an ideal opportunity for strengthening the awareness and self-confidence of the League of Communists of Slovenia in what it is, what it wants, and what it does not want.

The second useful consequence of Popit's letter, which is perhaps even more important than the preceding, could be a practical demonstration, or rather a display of democratic political culture which is prepared by all means to protect the personal integrity and dignity of those who think differently—which is to say France Popit—and at the same time does not close its eyes to an assessment of the real political role of an individual in the past and in the present political processes.

Popit Letter

LD2908205589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1623 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 29 Aug (TANJUG)—"I am not ready to bear the responsibility for the consequences of the renewal of the Slovene League of Communists [LC], which, contrary to the mood and directions, the present Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium is implementing and shaping." France Popit, member of the Slovene LC Central Committee, says in a long letter which he sent to the Slovene LC Central Committee. Popit at the same time announces his resignation from the Slovene LC Central Committee.

The reasons for his resignation from the Slovene LC Central Committee and the cause of the letter, France Popit, as he says himself, is based on the following facts: "First, individual, most responsible, members of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium are having discussions, under the 'trade mark' of developing action unity within the conditions of political pluralism, with individuals and groups from the leaderships of newly-founded political groups and organizations. They are also discussing questions inseparably connected with certain solutions to burning, crucial, central points in the economic and political systems.

Neither of the leaderships discusses these questions first with their members, that is, with those who should, as persons, be the only legitimate subject of policy and a democratic political way of organizing. With this way of reaching agreements, the top people in politics are pulling the LC as well into the political practice which disowns the process of constituting a human being as the only authentic subject of policy and a democratic political way of organizing, as the only legitimate subject of the sovereignity of its people and statehood. In this way they are de facto pushing into a cul de sac all those declared expressions of support for a renewal which should ensure for a human being a truly appropriate position in the economy and politics.

Therefore it is high time, Popit continues, that the Slovene political leadership and the Slovene LC draw the necessary conclusions from the bitter experience of such a way of developing action unity. Among blows already received because of such behavior, France Popit cites "Bavcar's writings," then the emergence of two different declarations about the authentic desire of the Slovene nation, anticommunist, antisocialist and nationalist incidents as a special expression of the real democratic "maturity" and democratic "culture" of some political partners of the LC in developing the so-called action unity in the conditions of political pluralism. This means that the LC has de facto found itself in the waters of political mannerisms which have, together with some similar factors, brought about a most serious crisis in the multiparty parliamentary system abroad.

As the second reason France Popit cites the fact that the Slovene LC Central Committee has "with its left hand rejected the proposed views and ideas by a group of left-wing orientated intellectuals, members of the Slovene LC, who view the transformation of the LC from the positions of self-management and socialism as a historical process of liberating human beings within the conditions of modern economy and society."

In his letter, France Popit expresses the view that the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, which otherwise vehemently defends the ideological and political pluralism appearing in Slovenia, is not prepared to accept within its own organization, that is within the organization of the Slovene LC, the integral concept on the renewal offer of the Slovene LC and to submit it together with its official proposal for consideration by the membership and other working people.

Popit considers that the present Presidium is also making a great political mistake in looking on with its arms folded as its political partners in the construction of the so-called action unity simply put the struggle of communists for the development of socialism in Yugoslavia in the same basket as the struggle of communists for their development in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European socialist countries. Such propaganda, which for some newly-formed political organizations serves to compromise the LC, is one of the dirtier methods of so-called political marketing, Popit says.

Continuing his letter, Popit warns the present responsible figures in politics and the economy that they must finally realize that over the past few years they have succeeded with their general criticism of everything in existence in significantly demolishing the functional ability of the economy and politics, which are now in such a miserable state that they are no longer able to seriously tackle the destructive inflation nor the new-style statist socialism.

Pointing out the attitude of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium toward the issues of the role, function, and concept of the federation, France Popit stresses that it is eminently clear that the introduction of the original sovereignty of the federation is inseparably linked with the corresponding limitation of the sovereignty of the peoples united within it.

Continuing the letter Popit points out the necessity of thinking about "the political practice of the present Presidium which allowed itself to be lured into making political agreements between top political factors and thereby de facto left its members and members of the Socialist Alliance of Working People outside the process of active political creating. The practice of manipulating people, their interests and feelings, turns the masses into an object of politics, instead of allowing them to be a creative part of political organizations. Objectively, this leads toward unitarist, statist socialism, France Popit claims, stressing that "all this in itself speaks about the poor effects of the so-called political marketing, which treats human beings as an object, rather than a subject of politics. This in fact acts against the renewal that we objectively need at the present social and political juncture," concludes France Popit, once, and for several years, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, in his letter to the Slovene LC Central Committee.

Muslims Call for Boycott of 'Satanic Verses'

AU2808195589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19-20 Aug 89 p 10

[TANJUG report: "Boycotting Publication and Publisher"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 18 Aug—If the publishing of Salman Rushdie's "Satanic Verses" is not withheld, the Islamic Community of Yugoslavia and all its organs and organizations will ask all its members and followers to boycott not only this book, but also all other publications of the publisher of this book. This was concluded at the meeting of the Supreme Islamic Senior Order.

This was also said in a statement by the Supreme Islamic Senior Order issued today. At its regular session held in Sarajevo on 16 August, the Supreme Islamic Senior Order discussed, inter alia, the latest editions of Salman Rushdie's "Satanic Verses" in Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian. The announced publication of "Satanic Verses" in Yugoslavia is a great and serious insult to the millions of Muslims in our country, as well as to many other followers of other religions, the statement points out.

The Supreme Islamic Senior Order of Yugoslavia appeals to the publisher once again to stop the announced publication, warning that it could have far-reaching consequences, the statement adds.

Boycott Decision 'Surprise'

AU2808202389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19-20 Aug p 10

["D. B." commentary]

[Text] After a prolonged silence, the highest organ of the Islamic Community of Yugoslavia has finally taken a stand on the content of Salman Rushdie's "Satanic Verses." If it missed the opportunity to do so at the beginning of this writer-religion-state affair, when Khomeyni sentenced the writer to death and 'Ali Khamene'i confirmed this sentence during his visit to Belgrade, the opportunity has arisen again with the announcement that Rushdie's book will be published in Serbo-Croatian and Macedonian....

We must immediately say that this decision came as a surprise. According to some reactions—although there are reserved reactions to the Rushdie case—the high Islamic circles of Yugoslavia had been announcing the possibility of refraining from condemning "Satanic Verses." At times it looked as if this country would remain one of the very few countries in which the Muslim community would not issue a more serious condemnation of this anathematized book, at least not from official places of confession.

However, the statement issued in Sarajevo introduces a new kind of restlessness into the cultural, political, and social situation in Yugoslavia. Attacks will not only be

launched against the Belgrade and Skopje publishers of "Satanic Verses," that is to say their editions of this book, but also against a number of other books which have recently been published or will soon be published by the Prosveta and Kultura publishers. The Supreme Islamic Senior Order goes even further and claims that the publishing of the book in Yugoslavia represents a great and serious insult to the "millions of Muslims in our country, as well as to many other followers of other religions." This kind of assertion indicates not only the extent of the boycott announced by the highest organ of Yugoslav Muslims, but also the pretensions of this measure with regard to the members of religious communities. And this is already something that goes beyond a sheer protest against one "blasphemous book."

Finally, the Supreme Islamic Senior Order in the SFRY, after its demand that Belgrade and Skopje publishers reconsider their decision concerning the publishing of the book, has issued a warning that if this is not done, the publishers' perseverance could have "far-reaching consequences." Considering everything that is happening in the world with regard to "Satanic Verses," this kind of warning could not be seen as anything other than a threat and a religion's incursion into areas which do not concern it.

Croatian League Presidium on LCY Document

AU2808151589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 Aug 89

The session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia has been held in Zagreb. We have just received a report from our correspondent Vesna Knezevic:

It is necessary to publish clear political stands on everything that is happening in both the League of Communists and society. This was stated in one of the conclusions adopted at this session today. The view of the League of Communists of Croatia on this issue is more or less known, but what is needed is to offer a systematic document. However, some things, as stated, need to be reacted to immediately. For instance, the conclusions of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia with regard to inflation are partly in contradiction to the conclusions of the Central Committee of League of Communists of Croatia. Furthermore, the League of Communists of Croatia must protect its members Dusan Dragosavac, Ivica Racan, and others from, as stated, the unfounded attacks. It was also stressed that the Boris Muzevic case places a question mark over the security of every citizen of this country. Finally, the interview granted by Dobrica Cosic to the Italian newspaper TEMPO, in which he talks about Istra and the Istrian islands, represents, as stated, an attack on Yugoslavia's territory.

If the League of Communists of Croatia does not take a stand on these and other political events immediately, somebody else will. The consequences could be much more umpleasant.

From the part of the session which followed, in the announced agenda we single out the criticism of the document on the transformation of the League of Communists. According to the members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, a close insight into the document gives the impression that the League of Communists is becoming increasingly centralized and that its directive role is becoming even stronger. According to them, this is unacceptable.

These are the highlights of the session based solely on daily reports by Radio Zagreb, because in the last few months the Information Department of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia has adopted the following practice: The only journalists invited to the sessions of the highest body of the League of Communists of Croatia are those from TANJUG, KOMUNIST, VJESNIK, and Radio and Television Zagreb. No other correspondents of other Yugoslav public information media are invited.

Zagreb Daily Defends FEC From Party Attack

AU2908144389 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 89 p 1

[Ivo Jakovljevic commentary: "Confusion"]

[Text] Is the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia still supporting the federal government, is it warning it, or is it interfering in its work? According to its (yet another!) statement issued yesterday, the party leadership has concluded that (was it really unanimous at least on this point?) the Federal Executive Council "should adopt in the shortest possible time a specific anti-inflationary program which will also contain measures on social policy and social protection, and at the same time serve as a foundation for the political mobilization." This is the point of the statement, which also mentions positive results in economic trends in the last few months, as well as positive assessments of the direction of economic-systemic changes that the government has initiated or is already introducing. However, what does the demand for an "urgent adoption of a specific anti-inflationary program" mean in this context?

There are two possible answers: The statement issued at the session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was either poorly formulated, or the days of general confusion are approaching faster and faster. Let us only analyze the second, the pessimistic answer. Let us assume that the statement from the above-mentioned session was a professionally written report about one political event. The remaining questions are: If Markovic's government was pursuing the program targets and methods adopted by the SFRY Assembly back in March of this year, does the demand for "urgently adopting a specific anti-inflationary program" represent a belated criticism of the government's program adopted in March, does it mean giving in to the demands of the "antibureaucratic

revolution," or is it just a sincere wish of the people who are poorly informed about the secrets of economics and even the contents of the government's program (and the barriers that have been erected to the program so far), according to which the problem of inflation should be solved as soon as possible?

Will the Federal Executive Council "urgently" react to the demand of the party leadership, or will it wait for the SFRY Assembly, of which it is the executive organ, to repeat the same? Will a public debate on an anti-inflationary program (a new, existing, or alternative) be started next fall? Because it is interfering in the work of the government by means of a public statement, and outside the SFRY Assembly, why has the party leadership, in addition to issuing a demand for an "urgent adoption of an anti-inflationary program," not said what kind of targets and methods it had in mind, and what its views were on the targets and methods which Markovic's government is trying to carry out with the present program (with changeable luck)?

Does the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia know at all that the governments's job is not to conduct a special policy. (Then what is the purpose of the trade union organization, communes, welfare services, and so forth?) Does this circle of people know anything about the real causes of inflation (state deficit, clearing account surplus, the irrationality of social ownerships, a lack of the capital market, bills of exchange as a method of payment, calming down strikes by printing more money, and so forth)? Why does it generally keep quiet about them?

If the Federal Executive Council gives in to this kind of political pressure—which would not take much of its time anyhow—and renames its March program "Anti-Inflationary Program," will the communists in the government fulfill the expectations of their party leadership?

Or perhaps "there is something else" at play (and increasingly so).

DELO Commentary on Reform Discussions

AU2508222189 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 19 Aug 89 p2

[Joze Volfand commentary: "New Round of Political Persuasion"]

[Text] Overshadowed by the sharp attacks on the federal government, especially in the southern parts of Yugoslavia, which in fact is but the most visible part of the deep disagreements on how quickly some changes in the economic and political systems should be carried out, a new round of polemical, heated, and we hope better argued discussions in the Yugoslav political top leadership is arriving next week. As one can unofficially hear, a 2-day session of the top party leadership is envisaged.

Thus the days are coming when it will not be possible to speak only in general terms about two different views on the changes in the political system, or to say that the federal government should slow down the adoption of radical reform measures, which is to say pro-market measures, because of the almost complete shortage of internal liquidity and increasing social seething. At this moment, the fall of the federal government would not suit anyone in Yugoslavia. If the top party leadership will on Tuesday discuss social conditions in the country, it will not be able fool around. Probably it will have to remember its stances on a market economy and the economic reform. No government, neither the present nor any other, will be able to carry out the reform without social upheavals. The politicians know that, too. It is another question whether the government and the politicians are sufficiently prepared for the social and bankruptcy wave that will certainly splash over Yugoslavia in the autumn.

If the fate of the federal government will be just small change in the hands of somebody when specific debates begin about individual reform provisions in the political system and the party in the coming days, the chances that Yugoslavia will reach at least partial unity on the fundamental dilemma—whether its future road will be through modernized statism or through reaffirmed socialist liberalism with a new democratic substance—will be further reduced. Big and small issues crowd the agenda. It is not possible to say for any one of them that it has no place in the Yugoslav political context. Each of them has been demanding a concrete answer for some time. For instance, first: About 40 party committees in the Socialist Republic of Serbia want Dusan Dragosavac, Ivica Racan, Nijaz Skenderagic, and Muhamed Abadzic to be expelled from the League of Communists. Why? In essence because they spoke about Serbian nationalism at the latest League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee session and, as the critics say, attacked the Serbian leadership. Second: When the document on ideopolitical foundations for the changes of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Statute is discussed, sparks will fly about majoritarianism and consensus in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and democratic centralism. Third: Because only the League of Communists of Serbia has not yet adopted the positions on political pluralism, it is not clear whether the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will be able to discuss this at its session on 30 August, although the time is pressing. [Fourth:] One also knows that the renewal of the Party and the burial of political monism will depend on the position on political pluralism and on the arrangement of how the Yugoslav party will descend from power. Fifth: The federal party leadership should confirm the stands regarding the attacks on the personality and work of Comrade Tito. In the present times of encouraged and premeditated de-Titoization, this is more that a marginal question and a question of political courtesy. Sixth: Attacks on our diplomatic service also rank among eloquent current political events in Yugoslavia.

The list is thus not exhausted. However, it confirms that Yugoslavia lacks general agreement on the reform of the

political system and the party, on inflation and the federal government policy, as well as on what to do in the field of social policy.

In the last few months before the congress, perhaps the top federal party leadership, and the republican and provincial elites with it, actually are aware where procrastination leads to. What faces a crisis is not just our present; our future, a different future, also increasingly faces a crisis. Unless the ability to reach a political compact or compromise prevails, papers hurriedly prepared for the party congress will inevitably lead to an internal party split. This will probably also be a split of Yugoslavia. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia above all will not be able to shed responsibility for such a development of political events, when because of interethnic disputes, principled and unprincipled political disputes are attempted to be covered up with various instigated nationalist, chauvinist, and even physical clashes. It has already started. Official political silence and unconcern when Chetnik or Ustasha views are being revived are a bad omen.

Something else inspires mild optimism. The cards are on the table at least regarding the reform of the political system (what the federation should be like and how the federal assembly should be composed) and the reform of the party (whether the League of Communists will be one of the political subjects or the power in the country, whether the principle of majoritarianism and democratic centralism will prevail in it or the principle of accord and respect for the opinion of the minority). The differences are not small. The way one reads the opinions in Yugoslavia, the adherents of majoritarianism are not in a majority. Because of the essential interventions in the political system and because of the question of what will happen to the party as one among equals, it will probably have to be agreed during the transitory reform that neither in society nor in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia can one adopt decisions by outvoting, by force, or according to the principle of one man one vote. Some fundamental questions about the further development of Yugoslavia and the Party are simply too important so that in a asymmetric federation, the answers to them cannot be imposed on anybody.